THE ESSENTIALS OF BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY



Junjirō Takakusu

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EDITORS' PREFACE

For several decades prior to Professor Takakusu's death in June, 1945, the English-speaking world knew him as an author. editor, and translator of monumental works on Buddhism. In this book, Dr. Takakusu's only major work in English, the summation of his lifetime study of Buddhist philosophy is presented. Dr. Takakusu prepared the material in Tokyo and in 1938-39 delivered it as a series of lectures at the University of Hawaii, where he was a visiting professor. In the summer of 1939, philosophers from several parts of the world gathered at the University of Hawaii for an East-West Philosophers' Conference, and they used this text as one of the books in their discussions. The results of this conference are presented in *Philosophy—East and West,* published in 1944 by the Princeton University Press.

Before Professor Takakusu returned to Tokyo, he authorized us to publish this text and to make minor alterations without consulting him. We have made some revisions, but, in order to avoid the possibility of altering the meaning, we have revised the English only where we felt that a change was essential. The text gives basic Buddhist terms in English, Chinese, and Sanskrit, and the index gives the diacritical marks of the Pali and Sanskrit. Dr. Takakusu employs irregular Sanskrit forms at times in order to avoid confusion on the part of the reader. As an aid to students, we have inserted references to important texts of all major Buddhist philosophical systems.

This work represents the conclusions of a Buddhist scholar whose renown is attested by the academic and honorary degrees and other honors conferred upon him. Among these were: M.A., D. Litt. (Oxon.), Dr. Phil. (Leipzig), D. Litt. (Tokyo), Ehren Dr. Phil. (Heidelberg), Member of the Imperial Academy (Japan), Fellow of the British Academy. At the time of his death he was Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit at Tokyo Imperial University.

Some readers may believe that Japanese Buddhism has been overstressed in this volume, but, as Professor Takakusu states, it is justified—or necessitated—by the fact that in Japan "the whole of Buddhism has been preserved," as well as the fact that, in Japan, Buddhism is the living and active faith of the mass of the people.

As Director of the University's Oriental Institute (now the School of Pacific and Asiatic Studies), Mr. Gregg M. Sinclair arranged for Dr. Takakusu's engagement as visiting professor at the University of Hawaii, and as President of the University since 1943 he has kept alive the plan for publishing this book at an appropriate time.

The project has received generous financial assistance from Professor Takakusu's friends in Hawaii, especially through the cooperation of Mr. Eimu Miake and the Reverend Kenju Ohtomo.

Thanks are also due to Professor Yukuo Uyehara for his assistance in planning and effecting publication of the volume, to Professor Johannes Rahder for invaluable assistance on the proofs and index, and to the Reverend Iwasaburo Yoshikami for help on the index. Special appreciation is hereby expressed to Mr. Richard A. Gard for his very generous assistance in checking the entire manuscript with Professor Takakusu after the latter's return to Japan from Hawaii in 1939, and working out with the author many important changes in the text. Mr. Gard deserves thanks also for similar assistance in connection with Professor Takakusu's chapter in *Philosophy—East and West,* which includes, in essence, the same material as found in Chapter III of this volume.

W. T. Chan
Charles A. Moore

EDITORS' PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The enthusiastic reception of Dr. Takakusu's presentation of the basic principles and schools of Buddhist Philosophy led to the early depletion of the first edition and has been interpreted to mean that the book fills a substantial need in the field of technical secondary literature on the subject. A second edition, therefore, seemed desirable to the editors and to those who first published the book, namely, the University of Hawaii and friends of Dr. Takakusu in Hawaii.

In presenting this second edition, the editors have maintained the policies stated in the preface to the first edition; that is, they have not considered it their privilege to change the text materially. A few changes have been made for the sake of greater clarity, however, and minor errors have been corrected.

The editors wish to express their great appreciation for generous assistance in making these revisions to Professor Johannes Rahder, Yale University; Professor Sitaram Tripathi, Banaras Hindu University; Professor Yukuo Uyehara, University of Hawaii; and Mr. Richard A. Gard, Ontario, California.

May 1, 1949

W. T. Chan
Charles A. Moore

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

In all essentials this edition is merely a reprint of the second edition, that is, no major revisions have been made. However, a few doubtful points and a small number of mistakes have been revised for the sake of clarity and accuracy.

Perhaps it should be noted especially that the charts on pages 150 and 151 have been transposed from the positions they occupied in earlier editions. Scholars differ concerning the precise form in which these charts should be presented and described, but it is felt that the transposition which has been made is the best available solution of a difficult problem.

C. A. M.

I. INTRODUCTION

(1) How to Depict Buddhism

A discourse on Buddhist philosophy is usually begun with the philosophy of Indian Buddhism, and in this respect it is important to trace the development of Buddhist thought in India where it thrived for 1,500 years. It should be remembered, however, that before Buddhism declined in India in the eleventh century its various developments had already spread far into other countries. Hīnayāna Buddhism, or the Small Vehicle, which emphasizes individual salvation, continued in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. Mystic or esoteric Buddhism developed as Lamaism in Tibet. Mahāyāna Buddhism, or the Great Vehicle, which emphasizes universal salvation, grew in China where great strides in Buddhist studies were made and the different thoughts in Mahāyāna schools were systematized.

In Japan, however, the whole of Buddhism has been preserved—every doctrine of both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools. Although Hīnayāna Buddhism does not now exist in Japan as an active faith, its doctrines are still being studied there by Buddhist scholars. Mikkyō, which we may designate as the Esoteric Doctrine or Mysticism, is fully represented in Japan by Tendai mysticism and Tōji mysticism. The point which Japanese mysticism may be proud of is that it does not contain any vulgar elements, as does its counterpart in other countries, but stands on a firm philosophical basis.

The schools which were best developed in China are Hua-yen (Kegon, the 'Wreath' School) and T'ien-t'ai (Tendai, the 'Lotus' School). When the Ch'an (Zen) School is added to these two, the trio represents the highest peak of Buddhism's development. These three flourished in China for a while and then passed away, but in Japan all three are still alive in the people's faiths as well as in academic studies.

A rather novel form of Buddhism is the Amita-pietism. It is found to some extent in China, Tibet, Nepal, Mongolia, Manchuria and Annam; but it flourishes most in Japan where it is followed by more than half of the population.

I believe, therefore, that the only way to exhibit the entire Buddhist philosophy in all its different schools is to give a résumé of Buddhism in Japan. It is in Japan that the entire Buddhist literature, the Tripiṭaka, is preserved and studied.

The great Tripiṭaka Literature,[1] which is chiefly in Chinese translation, was brought to Japan from China in the T'ang (618-907) and Sung (960-1279) periods. It consisted then of 5,048 volumes, all of which have been preserved in Japan although many were lost in China. In Japan, the Tripiṭaka Literature has been published at least four times, *each edition adding new volumes.* Recently it became my responsibility to complete its latest publication, which contains the Chinese and Korean compilations as well as texts newly discovered in Central Asia and Japan—a work of thirteen years—comprising 13,520 *chüans* or parts in 100 bound volumes of about 1,000 pages each.[2]

There is little need of describing the numerous monasteries in Japan, which are seats of Buddhist learning. But I should mention the fact that there are six strong universities of Buddhist affiliations which make the philosophy of Buddhism their chief subject of study. There are also many colleges and schools of Buddhist support, and in five of the governmental universities Buddhist philosophy, Sanskrit and Pāli are studied.

In the present study of Buddhist philosophy the subject will not be presented in its historical sequence but in an ideological sequence. This ideological sequence does not mean a sequence in the development of ideas; it is rather the systemati-

[1] This constitutes the basic literature of Buddhism comprising the three divisions of Buddhist doctrine : the Buddha's discourses ; disciplinary rules; and philosophical treatises.

[2] *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (Taishō Edition of the Tripiṭaka in Chinese). Edited by J. Takakusu, K. Watanabe, and G. Ono. 100 volumes. Tokyo, 1929—. Hereafter cited as *Taishō.*

zation of the different schools of thought for the purpose of easier approach.

Because of my peculiar approach to the subject, I am going to present a classification of Buddhist thought different from that of Professor Stcherbatsky, who made a very masterful presentation of Buddhist ideas in his *Buddhist Logic.*[3] He divided the first 1,500 years of Buddhist history, dating back to 500 B.C., into three periods of five hundred years each, as follows :

First	Middle	Concluding
Pluralism	Monism	Idealism
Pudgala-śūnyatā	Sarva-dharma-śūnyatā	Bāhya-artha-śūnyatā
(Denial of individuality)	(Denial of all elements)	(Denial of the external world)

In his table, Professor Stcherbatsky indicated the extreme and moderate schools in each period.

Historically, Professor Stcherbatsky's table is more accurate, and I am conscious of the fact that the idealism of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu[4] arose in reaction against the extreme passivity of Nāgārjuna's Negativism.[5] However, it being impossible to place Harivarman's Negativism[6] after Nāgārjuna, I have taken the liberty of assuming the following table with the great thinker and writer Vasubandhu as the starting point of the development of all Buddhist thought :

[3] Th. Stcherbatsky : *Buddhist Logic*, two volumes (*Bibliotheca Buddhica* Vol. XXVI). Leningrad, 1932 ; Vol. I, p. 14.

[4] c. 410-500 A.D. ; c. 420-500 A.D.

[5] c. 100-200 A.D. See 4th column of the following table.

[6] c. 250-350 A.D. See 2nd column of the following table.

(1) REALISM*	(2) NIHILISM*	(3) IDEALISM*	(4) NEGATIVISM*
Hīnayānistic	Hīnayānistic (Nihilism)	Semi-Mahāyānistic	Mahāyānistic (Nihilism)
Sarvāsti School (holding that everything exists)	*Satyasiddhi School* (holding that truth is attainable by antithetic negation)	*Vijñaptimātra School* (holding that ideation alone exists)	*Mādhyamika School* (holding that truth is attainable by synthetic negation)
Pudgala-śūnyatā (denying individuality)	*Sarva-dharma-śūnyatā* (denying the reality of all—matter and mind)	*Bāhya-artha-śūnyatā* (denying the reality of all external things)	*Sarva-dharma-śūnyatā* (denying the reality of all--matter and mind and all attachments of living beings; thereby striving to reach the "highest" truth [Middle Path] which can be conceived only by synthetic negation or the negation of negation)
Doctrine of *Ens* (being)	Doctrine of Non-*ens* (non-being)	Doctrine of *both* Ens *and* *Non*-ens	Doctrine of *neither* Ens *nor* *Non*-ens
Middle Path as the ideal way in practical life; neither optimistic nor pessimistic.	Middle Path or Truth attainable by the recognition of nonentity, admitting neither individuality (*Pudgala*) nor reality of matter and mind (*Dharma*). All end in *Nirvāṇa* (Void). Nihilism as opposed to Realism.	Middle Path or Truth lies neither in recognizing the reality of all things because outer things do not exist, nor in recognizing the non-reality of all things because ideations do exist.	Middle Path or Truth attained by either reciprocal negation or repetitional negation; reciprocal negation being the eightfold denial of phenomena of being, and repetitional negation being the fourfold serial denial of the popular and the higher ideas.
Vasubandhu (c. 420-500 A.D.)	Harivarman (c. 250-350 A.D.) Chinese translation 407 A.D.	Vasubandhu (c. 420-500 A.D.)	Nāgārjuna (c. 100-200 A.D.)

*Each of these schools will be explained in detail later. See Chapters IV (Realism), V (Nihilism), VI (Idealism) and VII (Negativism).

According to my scheme, Nāgārjuna, the earliest Buddhist philosopher, is placed after Harivarman and Vasubandhu, as may be seen in the table. However, when the development of idea is to be fitted into a simple pattern, such a discrepancy is inevitable. In China when a philosopher-priest engages in philosophical studies, he does not usually take up the history of ideas, but he at once goes into the speculation of whichever thought attracts his interest. Therefore, in this respect, there is little advantage in studying Buddhist ideas according to the historical sequence.

(2) Buddhism in the History of China

The history of Buddhist activities in China covers about 1,200 years (A.D. 67-1271) and is practically identical with the history of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist scriptures. During those years 173 Indian and Chinese priests devoted themselves to the laborious work of translation, and the result was the great literature of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

Careful studies of these translations were continued, and many schools of thought, or religious sects, were established. The most notable of them (fourteen in number) may be picked out for our purpose. Almost all of them were introduced to Japan. But we shall not trouble ourselves with minute accounts of them here, for we shall have to return to them when we study the philosophical tenets of each.

We must remember, however, that the Sui (A.D. 581-618) and the T'ang (A.D. 618-907) dynasties are the age when the sectarian schools were completed and that these schools were founded or originated some time earlier by those able men who translated or introduced the texts. We shall now examine the list of these schools founded and completed on Chinese soil. This list indicates the vast development and systematization of Buddhism in China.

LISTS OF CHINESE SECTS*

	A. Foundation (Before Sui and T'ang Dynasties, A.D. 67-581)	B. Final Completion (In the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, A.D. 581-907)
Western Tsin Dynasty (A.D. 265-317)	1. P'i-t'an Tsung (Abhidharma) Hinayâna Formalistic (Transl. Saṅghadeva A.D. 383-390)	
Eastern Tsin Dynasty (A.D. 317-420)	2. Ch'êng-shih Tsung .... (Satyasiddhi) Hinayâna Sautrānta Nihilistic (Transl. Kumārajiva A.D. 417-418)	....
	3. San-lun Tsung .... (3) (Mādhyamika) Mahāyāna Negativistic (Found. Sêng-chao, pupil of Kumâra-jiva; transl. c. A.D. 384-414)	San-lun Tsung Mādhyamika Negativism systematized by Chi-tsang, A.D. 549-623.
	4. Lü Tsung .... (4) (Vinaya) Hinayāna Disciplinary (Found. Hui-kuang, pupil of Kumâra-jiva; transl. c. A.D. 402-412)	Lü Tsung Dharmagupta Discipline completed by Tao-hsüan, A.D. 596-667.

* Those sects in Bold Face were introduced into Japan.

LISTS OF CHINESE SECTS* (Continued)

Northern Liang Dynasty (A.D. 397-439)	5. Nieh-p'an Tsung (Nirvāṇa) Mahāyāna Noumenological (Transl. Dharmarakṣa A.D. 423)	11. T'ien-t'ai Tsung (Puṇḍarika—The 'Lotus' Doctrine) Mahāyāna Phenomenological Phenomenology completed by Chih-i, A.D. 531-597.
Northern Wei Dynasty (A.D. 386-535) Eastern Wei Dynasty (A.D. 534-550)	6. Ti-lun Tsung (Daśabhūmi) Mahāyāna Idealistic (Transl. Bodhiruci, c. A.D. 508)	12. Hua-yen Tsung (Avataṁsaka, the 'Wreath' Doctrine) Mahāyāna Totalistic Totalism completed by Fa-tsang, A.D. 643-712.
Western Wei Dynasty (A.D. 535-557)	7. Ching-t'u Tsung .... (7) (Sukhāvati) Mahāyāna Pietistic (Transl. Bodhiruci, A.D. 529. Found. T'an-luan (A.D. 476-524)	Ching-t'u Tsung (Sukhāvati) Mahāyāna Pietistic Amitābha Pietism completed by Shan-tao, d. A.D. 681.
Southern Liang Dynasty (A.D. 502-557)	8. Ch'an Tsung .... (8) (Dhyāna) Mahāyāna Contemplative	Ch'an Tsung (Dhyāna) Mahāyāna Contemplative

* Those sects in Bold Face were introduced into Japan.

LISTS OF CHINESE SECTS* (Continued)

Ch'ên Dynasty (A.D. 557-589)	(Found. Bodhidharma, c. A.D. 470-534)	The system of meditation flourished under Hui-nêng (A.D. 638-713), northern school, and Shên-hsiu (A.D. 605-706), southern school.
	9. Shê-lun Tsung .... (Mahâyâna-samparigraha) Mahâyâna Idealistic (Transl. Paramârtha, c. A.D. 563)	13. Fa-hsiang Tsung (Vijñaptimâtratâ) Quasi-Mahâyâna Idealistic Idealism translated and completed by Hiüen-tsang (Hsüan-tsang, A.D. 596-664) and Kuei, his pupil (K'uei-chi, A.D. 632-682).
	10. Chü-shê Tsung (Abhidharmakośa) Hinayâna Realistic Similar in tenet to 1 above (Transl. Paramârtha, A.D. 563-567)	Chü-shê Tsung (Abhidharmakośa) Hinayâna Realistic Kosa Realism transmitted by Hiüen-tsang and completed by Kuei, his pupil.
		14. Chên-yen Tsung (Mantrayâna) Mahâyâna Mystic Mysticism transmitted by Subhakarasimha. A.D. 637-735, Vajrabodhi, A.D. 663-723, and Amoghavajra, A.D. 705-774.

* Those sects in Bold Face were introduced into Japan.

Of the above sects, ten (2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) were transmitted to Japan, and of them three, i.e., the realistic Chü-shê (10), the nihilistic Ch'êng-shih (2), and the negativistic San-lun (3) schools did not remain in Japan as active sects but are preserved for the purpose of training and preparing the Buddhist mind for higher speculation and criticism.

(3) JAPAN AS THE LAND OF MAHĀYĀNA

Buddhism was officially introduced into Japan in A.D. 552 from Paikche, a kingdom in Korea, but thirty years earlier Buddhist images had been brought to Japan. In 594 the Prince Regent, Shōtoku Taishi (574-622) declared Buddhism the state religion.

Buddhism at this time was quite devoid of the distinction of sects or schools, although the difference of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna was clearly recognized. The Prince himself strictly adhered to Mahāyāna and wrote commentaries upon three Mahāyāna texts. The fame of these excellent annotations spread abroad, and one of them was chosen as a subject of commentaries by a Chinese savant.

The particular type of Mahāyāna that was adopted by the Prince may be seen from a consideration of the texts which were chosen. The first is the *Lotus of the Good Law*, a text devoted to the Ekayāna (One Vehicle) doctrine, indicating the idea of the good law. The second is the *Discourse on the Ultimate Truth* by Vimalakīrti, a lay *Bodhisattva* of Vaisali, while the third is the *Book of the Earnest Resolve* by Śrīmālā, a woman *Bodhisattva*, the Queen of Ayodhyā.[7] The central idea of this non-sectarian period was the doctrine of the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) as expressed in these three texts. This idea has remained the dominating feature of Buddhism throughout its history in Japan.

[7] *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Taishō* No. 262; *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, *Taishō* No. 475; *Śrīmālā-devī-siṃhanāda*, *Taishō* No. 353.

(4) Japanese Buddhism Philosophically Classified

To depict the whole of Buddhism it will be better, as I have already emphasized, to treat it according to its philosophical development. For the sake of clarity, I shall group the schools under two heads: the Schools of Negative Rationalism, i.e., the Religion of Dialectic Investigation ; and the Schools of Introspective Intuitionism, i.e., the Religion of Meditative Experience.

It is well known that Buddhism lays stress on the Threefold Learning (*sikṣa*) of Higher Morality, Higher Thought, and Higher Insight. That is to say, without higher morals one cannot get higher thought and without higher thought one cannot attain higher insight. Higher Thought here comprises the results of both analytical investigation and meditative intuition. Buddhism further instructs the aspirants, when they are qualified, in the Threefold Way (*mārga*) of Life-View, Life-Culture and Realization of Life-Ideal. In other words, without a right view of life there will be no culture, and without proper culture there will be no realization of life. Life-Culture here again means the results of right meditation.

The twofold inheritance of the Buddha was Right Reasoning (*nyāya*) and Right Meditating (*dhyāna*). One set of the Buddhist Schools which chiefly dwells on the former method I classify here as Negative Rationalism. It may seem a misnomer to group Realism under Negative Rationalism. However, when we see that it holds the doctrines of selflessness, impermanence, blisslessness, and momentariness of life we cannot assume much of its positive features. As to the rest of the schools, no explanation will be necessary.

The other set of schools I classify as Introspective Intuitionism, because all these are taught according to the result of meditative or introspective activity of the mind and not by dialectical reasoning or simple perception of the senses. The Intuitive Schools are of two kinds : the Undifferentiative and the Differentiative. According to my idea, Buddhism may be classified as follows :

I
SCHOOLS OF NEGATIVE RATIONALISM

1. Realism (Sarvāstivāda, Abhidhārmika), Abhidharmakośa, Chü-shê, or Kusha School [*Ens* School]
2. Nihilism (Sarvaśūnyavāda, Sautrāntika), Satyasiddhi, Ch'êng-shih, or Jōjitsu School [Non-*ens* School]
3. Idealism (Vijñaptimātravāda), Yogācāra, Fa-hsiang, or Hossō School [Both *Ens* and Non-*ens* School]
4. Negativism (Sarvaśūnyavāda), Mādhyamika, San-lun, or San-ron School [Neither *Ens* nor Non-*ens* School]

II
SCHOOLS OF INTROSPECTIVE INTUITIONISM

(A)
Undifferentiated Intuitionism

5. Totalism (Avataṅsaka), Hua-yen, Kegon, or 'Wreath' School
6. Phenomenology (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Ekayāna), T'ien-t'ai, Tendai, or 'Lotus' School
7. Mysticism (Mantra), Chên-yen, Shingon, or 'True Word' School
8. Pure Intuitionism (Dhyāna), Ch'an, Zen, or Meditation School

   Four divisions :
   a. Rinzai Sect founded by Eisai *
   b. Sōtō Sect founded by Dōgen
   c. Fuke Sect founded by Kakushin in 1255 ; abolished after 1868
   d. Ōbaku Sect founded by Ingen *

(B)
Differentiated Intuitionism

9. Amita-pietism (Sukhāvatī), Ching-t'u, Jōdo, or 'Pure

* 1141-1215. * 1592-1673.

Land' School [Objectively differentiated Intuitionism]

Four divisions :

a. Jōdo Sect founded by Hōnen [10]

b. Shin Sect founded by Shinran [11]

c. Yūzūnembutsu Sect founded by Ryōnin [12]

d. Ji Sect founded by Ippen [13]

10. Lotus-pietism, Nichiren, or 'New Lotus' School founded by Nichiren [14] [Subjectively Differentiated Intuitionism]
11. Disciplinary Formalism (Vinaya), the New or Reformed Ritsu (Lü) founded by Eison [15] [Subjectively Experienced Intuitionism]

[10] 1133-1212. [11] 1173-1262. [12] 1071-1132.
[13] 1239-1289. [14] 1222-1282. [15] 1201-1290.

II. INDIAN BACKGROUND

(1) Buddhist India

The Buddha may or may not have been 'the greatest Aryan of all the Aryans,' or 'the greatest of all philosophers,' as some would call him. It is difficult to determine how such a man as the Buddha, who is so different from the other philosophers and religious men of India, could have appeared there, for he denied entirely the traditional gods, religious beliefs, institutions and customs.

When the Aryans conquered India, they pushed southward in their march of victory until they entered the tropical zone. Then, because of the severe heat, they chose to select their abode among the cool forests of the Black Mountains, which form the smaller range along the foot of the great Himālaya. Gradually they came to regard the forest as their ideal abode, and in time they acquired the habit of meditating with the great Himālaya as the object of their thoughts, for there was Himālaya, eternally magnificent, eternally unapproachable. During mornings and evenings the snows would glow in changing splendor as the rays of the sun struck them ; in winter the glaciers in the valleys were frozen solid; but in summer the glaciers flowed along the winding valleys like giant dragons come to life after a year's sleep. Finally, the Aryans, who had conquered India by force, in turn came to be completely conquered by the mysterious influence of Nature.

In very few words, Brahmanism, the old Indian religion, was a pantheism with *Brahman* (the eternal, absolute, unchanging principle) as the first cause of the universe. The manifestation of this Brahman is sometimes personified and is called Brahmā (God, or the Great Self). Every human being has *ātman* (little self). Brahman and *ātman* are one, and of the same substance. Brahmanism, therefore, is an effort to seek the ultimate principle, Brahman, by studying one's Self, *ātman*.

The Buddha denied the existence of Brahman and *ātman*, and advanced a new theory of *anātman* (no-self), for, he declared, all things are changing and it is unreasonable to look for an absolute unchanging principle or an eternal self.

It is appropriate to speak of the Indian civilization as the civilization of the Forest. Religion, philosophy and literature were all products of the forest. Education was carried on in the sacred depth of the forest. Music, medicine and other branches of civilization were, without exception, cultivated in the forest.

Such theories as those which contend that city life produces civilization or that the origin of civilization is the triumph of man over Nature cannot be acceptable in India. The Indian people believe that the struggle for life is a hindrance to higher civilization. To them civilization means the assimilation of man into Nature ; hence city life is simply the breeding-place of crime.

Brahmanism, the Indian philosophy, and Buddhism may both be called the product of self-culture[1] under Nature. The result of the custom of meditating morning and evening reverently before Nature was *yoga* (concentration of mind) in Brahmanism, and *dhyāna* or *zen* (meditation) in Buddhism. There might be a sect in Brahmanism which does not require *yoga*, but in Buddhism no sect can be without *dhyāna*. At present certain sects in Buddhism do not practice *dhyāna* daily. However, it is a well-known fact that even those sects have their origin in *dhyāna*. This is true with both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. For instance, the Three Learnings of Buddhism (*triśikṣa*) are discipline, contemplation and wisdom; and one of the Six Perfections (*pāramitā*) is *samādhi* or concentration. Without *samādhi* the attainment of Buddhist knowledge is impossible. In Buddhism to act righteously is to think deeply.

[1] The doctrine of *anātman* denies the self as permanent substance or entity. However, Buddhism retains the self as a combination of matter and mind in continuous change. This 'self' is perfected by cultivation. This is what is meant by 'self-culture' or 'self-creation.' See also Section 3 of this chapter.

(2) The Buddha as a Deep Thinker

The Buddha (c. 566-486 B.C.) was not satisfied with the ideas of his contemporary thinkers. Those who regard this earthly life as pleasant (optimists) are ignorant of the disappointment and despair which are to come. Those who regard this life as a life of suffering (pessimists) may be tolerated as long as they are simply feeling dissatisfied with this life, but when they begin to give up this life as hopeless and try to escape to a better life by practicing austerities (self-mortification), then they are to be abhorred. The Buddha taught that the extremes of both hedonism and asceticism are to be avoided and that the middle course should be followed as the ideal. This does not mean that one should simply avoid both extremes and take the middle course as the only remaining course of escape. Rather, one should transcend, not merely escape from, such extremes.

The Buddha's doctrine, in fine, rests on the idea of "knowing and regarding reality as it is." That means one should know the true facts about this earthly life and look at it without making excuses, and regulate one's daily conduct of life according to this knowledge and standpoint.

This idea that there is nothing but hardship in this world —even pleasures end in hardship—is one of the significant points of Buddhism. Someone might say that this idea of recognizing this life as hardship cannot be anything but pessimism. But that is not right. The idea is this : in this present life there are both pleasures and hardships. It is shallow to try to regard it as entirely of pleasure ; what one regards as pleasure will cause suffering when it ceases to exist. In other words we may call it a kind of hardship which appears in the guise of pleasure. Therefore this life must be regarded as consisting entirely of hardship. Yet one must not lament over it. If one is ignorant of the fact that pleasures can cause hardships, one will be disappointed when that fact presents itself. The Buddha teaches that one should regard hardship as hardship, accepting it as a fact and opposing it. Hence his emphasis on perserverance, fortitude, and forbearance, the latter

being one of the Six Perfections.

In short, there are both pleasures and hardships in life, but one must not be discouraged when hardship comes, or lose oneself in rapture of joy when pleasure comes. Both pleasure and hardship must be taken alike with caution, and one must attack them with all one's might. For this reason bravery and diligence (*virya*) were included among the Six Perfections.

The middle course does not mean escaping from life but it means invading life, and yet not to become a prisoner of life.

When the Buddha's idea on reality develops further and further along its path, it becomes the Buddhist philosophy. To realize it in the actual life of living men is the religious side of Buddhism

Apart from Buddhism, however, there are efforts on the part of many thinkers to build up their respective thoughts on optimism and pessimism. Ever since before the time of the Buddha there had existed both schools of thought. The optimistic thought has developed into naturalism, hedonism, materialism, mechanism, etc. During the lifetime of the Buddha there existed even stronger materialism than that we see today. Pessimism developed along the line which may be described as more religious. They reasoned that, since our organism (body and mind) is imperfect, we should overcome it by austerities (self-mortification); then in the next life we shall attain a perfect heavenly existence. Thus they invented various methods of self-mortification and practiced them. The Buddha abhorred this practice.

Because the Buddha's idea on both optimism and pessimism was very clear, there has never been anyone in Buddhism who strayed into materialism nor has there been anyone who went into the practice of self-mortification. In short, the extremes of both optimism and pessimism were prevented by the moderate doctrine of Buddhism. In a way Buddhism was a scheme against the ravages of both materialism and asceticism.

(3) What is Self ?

The Buddha regarded this world as a world of hardship,

and taught the ways to cope with it. Then, what are the reasons which make it a world of hardship? The first reason, as given by the Buddha is that *all things are selfless or egoless*, which means that no things—men, animals and inanimate objects, both living and not living—have what we may call their original self or real being. Let us consider man. A man does not have a core or a soul which he can consider to be his true self. A man exists, but he cannot grasp his real being—he cannot discover his own core, because the existence of a man is nothing but an "existence depending on a series of causations." Everything that exists is there because of causations; it will disappear when the effects of the causations cease.

The waves on the water's surface certainly exist, but can it be said that a wave has its own self? Waves exist only while there is wind or current. Each wave has its own characteristics according to the combination of causations—the intensity of the winds and currents and their directions, etc. But when the effects of the causations cease, the waves are no more. Similarly, there cannot be a self which stands independent of causations.

As long as a man is an existent depending on a series of causations, it is unreasonable for him to try to hold on to himself and to regard all things around him from the self-centered point of view. All men ought to deny their own selves and endeavor to help each other and to look for co-existence, because no man can ever be truly independent.

If all things owe their existence to a series of causations, their existence is a conditional one—there is no one thing in the universe that is permanent or independent. Therefore, the Buddha's theory that selflessness is the nature of all things inevitably leads to the next theory that *all things are impermanent* (*anitya*).

Men in general seem to be giving all of their energy to preserving their own existence and their possessions. But in truth it is impossible to discover the core of their own existence, nor is it possible to preserve it forever. Even for one moment nothing can stay unchanged. Not only is it insecure in relation to space but it is also insecure in relation to time. If it were possible to discover a world which is space-less and time-less,

that would be a world of true freedom, i.e., Nirvāṇa.

If, as the modern physicists assert, space is curved and time is relative, this world of space and time is our enclosed abode from which there is no escape—we are tied down in the cycles of cause and effect.

As long as men cannot discover a world which is not limited by time and space, men must be creatures of suffering.

To assert that such a state, unlimited in time and space, is attainable by man is the message of Buddhism.

Of course there is no such thing as a limitless space or limitless time. Even modern physical science does not recognize infinity in time and space. However, the Buddha brought forward his ideal, Nirvāṇa (extinction), following his theories of selflessness and impermanence. *Nirvāṇa means extinction of life and death, extinction of worldly desire, and extinction of space and time conditions.* This, in the last analysis, means unfolding a world of perfect freedom.

Selflessness (no substance) and *impermanence* (no duration) are the real state of our existence ; *Nirvāṇa* (negatively extinction ; positively perfection) is our ideal, that is, perfect freedom, quiescence.

(4) The Ideal of Buddhism

The special community established by the Buddha was called the *Ārya-saṅgha* (The Assembly of the Nobles), intended to be the cradle of noble persons. Since the Brahmanical tradition had been firmly established, the race distinction was strictly felt. On that account the Buddha often asserted that in his own community there would be no distinction between Brahmans (priests) and warriors or between masters and slaves. Anyone who joined the Brotherhood would have an equal opportunity for learning and training.

Against the asserted superiority of the Aryan race and the appellation of *anārya* (non-Aryan) given to the aborigines or some earlier immigrants, the Buddha often argued that the word *Ārya* meant 'noble' and we ought not call a race noble or ignoble

for there will be some ignoble persons among the so-called *ārya* and at the same time there will be some noble persons among the so-called *anārya*. When we say noble or ignoble we should be speaking of an individual and not of a race as a whole. It is a question of knowledge or wisdom but not of birth or caste. Thus the object of the Buddha was to create a noble personage (*ārya-pudgala*)—in the sense of a noble life.

The noble community (*ārya-saṅgha*) was founded for that very purpose. The noble ideal (*ārya-dharma*) and the noble discipline (*ārya-vinaya*) were set forth for the aspiring candidates. The path to be pursued by the noble aspirant is the Noble Eightfold Path (*ārya-aṣṭangika-mārga*) and the truth to be believed by the noble is the Noble Fourfold Truth [2] (*catvāri-ārya-satyāni*). The perfections attained by the noble were the four noble fruitions (*ārya-phala*) and the wealth to be possessed by the noble was the noble sevenfold wealth (*sapta-ārya-dhana*), all being spiritual qualifications. The careful application of the word *ārya* to each of the important points of his institution must not be overlooked by a student of Buddhism. The Buddha thus seemed to have endeavored to revive the original meaning of *ārya* in personality and the daily life of his religious community.

Whether the Buddha was an Aryan or not we cannot say. Some consider him to be an Indo-Scythian while others consider him to be an Indo-Sumerian. The question of race has nothing to do with him, who in his idea transcends all racial distinctions.

The ideal set forth by him must be taken to be purely personal. As a man, he teaches men to be perfect men, i.e., men of perfect enlightenment.

(5) What is Truth? What is the Way?

The Buddha organized these ideas into the Fourfold Truth as follows:

1. That life consists entirely of suffering;

[2] See next section.

2. That suffering has causes;

(The above two are the description of reality.)

3. That the causes of suffering can be extinguished;
4. That there exists a way to extinguish the causes.

(The last two express the ideal.)

These constitute the Fourfold Truth to be believed by the *āriya* or those who pursue the way toward Nirvāṇa. (Hereafter the word *āriya* or *ārya* will be used in preference to its English equivalent 'the noble.' *Āriya* as used in Buddhism includes both those who aspire to become noble and those who are already noble.)

In explanation of the fourth Noble Truth the Buddha taught the Eightfold Way to be pursued by the *āriya* as follows:

1. Right View, by which to see the real state of all things.
2. Right Thought
3. Right Speech
4. Right Action

(Right Thought, Right Speech, Right Action are the elements of human character.)

5. Right Mindfulness
6. Right Endeavor
7. Right Livelihood

(These three are the elements of human life or the dynamic aspects of human character.)

8. Right Concentration, which is the motive power to carry one through all the worlds—this human world of desire, the heaven of (bodily) beings, the higher heaven of formless (bodiless) beings and holy beings (*arhats*)—finally to reach the state of *Parinirvāṇa* (Highest Nirvāṇa), the Buddhahood.

The Eightfold Way may be regarded as the practical ethics of Buddhism for the purpose of building up the human character and improving it, but at the same time it is the way of the holy religion for attaining the highest enlightenment —Buddhahood.

The Worlds of Beings attainable by Progressive Meditation

	Dharma-dhātu-samāpatti (Abstract-meditation on the universal principle, i.e., world) Buddha		V.
	Nirodha-samāpatti (Extinction) Arhats		IV
	Neither conscious nor unconscious state of the heaven		
Arūpya-Samāpatti	The heaven of nothingness	Heaven without Form	III.
	The endlessness of mind		
	The endlessness of space		
Rūpa-Samāpatti	Fourth Dhyāna heaven	Heaven with Form	II.
	Third Dhyāna heaven		
	Second Dhyāna heaven		
	First Dhyāna heaven		
	The world of living beings.		I.

The Eightfold Way should not be regarded as a combination of eight different ways. It is a unitary way—the Path of Insight (*Darśana-mārga*)—to lead the *āriya* toward perfection.

The next stage[3] of the path is the Path of Practice and is described as the Seven Branches of Enlightenment (*Bodhi*) as follows :

1. Thorough investigation of the Principle
2. Brave effort
3. Joyous thought
4. Peaceful thought
5. Mindfulness
6. Concentration
7. Equanimity

[3] The Buddha taught a Threefold Path: the Path of Insight (Meditation), the Path of Practice or Culture, the Path of No-More-Learning.

Thus the *āriya* proceeds to the last stage : i.e., the Path of No-More-Learning. Then the firm conviction that he has realized the Fourfold Truth will present itself.

The above three stages are to be passed through in the study of the Fourfold Truth. The Truth is studied and conceived in the first stage by the application of the Eightfold Way (Life-View) ; in the second stage it is investigated more fully and actualized by the practice of the Seven Branches of Enlightenment (Life-Culture) ; and in the last stage the Truth is fully realized in the Path of No-More-Learning (Realization of Life-Ideal).

When the *āriya* reaches this last stage, he becomes an *arhat*. According to the Hīnayānistic view this is the perfect state of enlightenment, but according to the Mahāyānistic view an *arhat* is thought to be only partially enlightened. The purpose of Buddhism is to perfect a man's character, or to let him attain Buddhahood on the basis of perfect wisdom and right cultivation, i.e., the highest personality. Such are the characteristics of Buddhism.

III. FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY

The usual procedure would be to explain the general principles which are common to all the schools of Buddhism. In this section I will not refer to those doctrines which are made the basic principles of the existing sects in Japan, because we shall study them in detail when we come to Buddhism in Japan. At present I will bring out six general principles, common especially to all schools of Mahāyāna :

a. The Principle of Causation
b. The Principle of Indeterminism of the Differentiated
c. The Principle of Reciprocal Identification
d. The Principle of True Reality
e. The Principle of Totality
f. The Principle of Perfect Freedom

(1) THE PRINCIPLE OF CAUSATION

Buddhism does not give importance to the idea of the Root-Principle or the First Cause as other systems of philosophy often do ; nor does it discuss the idea of cosmology. Naturally such a branch of philosophy as theology did not develop in Buddhism. One should not expect any discussion of theology from a Buddhist philosopher. As for the problem of creation, Buddhism is ready to accept any theory that science may advance, for Buddhism does not recognize any conflict between religion [1] and science.

According to Buddhism, human beings and all living things are self-created or self-creating. The universe is not homocentric ; it is a co-creation of all beings. Buddhism does not believe that all things came from one cause, but holds that everything is inevitably created out of more than two causes.

The creations or becomings of the antecedent causes con-

[1] In Buddhism religion is understood as the practical application of the philosophical doctrine, making no reference to such ideas as God, creation and final judgment.

tinue in time-series—past, present and future—like a chain. This chain is divided into twelve divisions and is called the Twelve Divisioned Cycle of Causations and Becomings. Since these divisions are interdependent, the process is called Dependent Production or Chain of Causation. The formula of this theory is as follows : From the existence of *this, that* becomes ; from the happening of *this, that* happens. From the non-existence of *this, that* does not become ; from the non-happening of *this, that* does not happen.

There are several theories of causation which combine to give a complete explanation of things and events :

(a) Causation by Action-influence [2]

There is law and order in the progress of cause and effect. This is the theory of Causal Sequence.

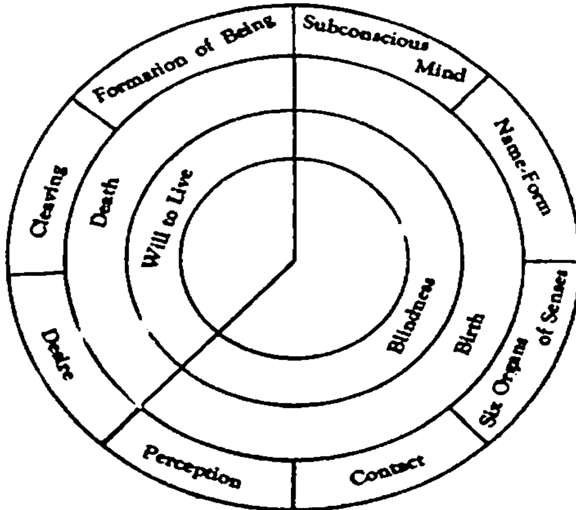
In the Twelve Divisioned Cycle of Causations and Becomings, it is impossible to point out which one is the first cause, because the twelve make a continuous circle which is called the Wheel of Life. It is customary to represent the Wheel of Life in the following manner : [See diagram opposite.]

The explanation of the principle of the Twelve Divisioned Cycle of Causations and Becomings is as follows :

People are accustomed to regard time as progressing in a straight line from the infinite past through present to infinite future. Buddhism, however, regards time as a circle with no beginning or end. Time is relative.

The death of a living being is not the end ; at once another life begins to go through a similar process of birth and death, and thus repeats the round of life over and over again. In this way a living being, when considered in relation to time, forms an endless continuum. It is impossible to define what a living being is, for it is always changing and progressing through the

[2] The Sanskrit original of 'action' is '*karma*,' but the term *karma* is avoided in this study because it is often confused with the idea of soul and thus leads to misunderstanding of the Buddhist doctrine. *Karma* simply means action and action means its influence. That influence determines the subsequent existence.



Divisions or Stages of Life. The whole series of stages must be taken in their entirety as representing the one individual being. Thus, a living being, when regarded in relation to space, forms a complex of five elements. The Wheel of Life is a clever representation of the Buddhist conception of a living being in relation to both space and time.

The Wheel of Life is a circle with no beginning, but it is customary to begin its exposition at Blindness (unconscious state). Blindness is only a continuation of Death. At death the body is abandoned, but Blindness remains as the crystallization of the effects of the actions performed during life. This Blindness is often termed Ignorance ; but this Ignorance should not be thought of as the antonym of knowing ; it must include in its meaning both knowing and not knowing—Blindness or blind mind, unconsciousness.

Blindness leads to blind activity. The 'energy' or the effect of this blind activity is the next stage, Motive, or Will to Live. This Will to Live is not the kind of will which is used in the term 'free will' ; it is rather a blind motive toward life or the blind desire to live.

Blindness and Will to Live are called the Two Causes of the past. They are causes when regarded subjectively from the present ; but objectively regarded, the life in the past is a whole life just as much as is the life of the present.

In the life of the present the first stage is Subconscious Mind. This is the first stage of an individual existence which corresponds, in actual life, to the first moment of the conception of a child. There is no consciousness yet ; there is only the Subconscious Mind or the Blind Will toward life. When this Subconscious Mind advances one step and takes a form, it is the second stage of the present, Name-Form. The Name is the mind, because mind is something we know by name but cannot grasp. Name-Form is the stage of prenatal growth when the mind and body first come into combination.

In the third stage a more complex form is assumed and the six sense organs are recognized. They are the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body (organ of touch) and mind.

The fourth stage corresponds to the first one or two years after the birth of the child. The six sense organs reach the state of activity, but the sense of touch predominates. The living being begins to come into contact with the outside world.

Now that the living being is able to manifest its consciousness, it begins to take in consciously the phenomena of the outside world. This is the fifth stage called Perception, representing the growth-scale of a child three to five years old. Here the individuality of the living being is definitely recognized ; in other words, the status of the present life has been formed.

The above five stages are called the Five Effects of the Past appearing in the Present. In those stages the individual is formed, but the individual is not entirely responsible for its own formation because the causes of the past have effectuated the development of these stages. From here on, the individual begins to create causes on his own responsibility, or, in other words, enters the proper sphere of self-creation.

The first of the Three Causes in the Present is Desire. Through Perception the individual experiences sorrow, pleasure, suffering, enjoyment, or neutral feeling. When the experience is sorrow, suffering, or neutral feeling, nothing much will happen.

But when it is pleasure or enjoyment, the individual will endeavor to make it his own. This effort is Desire ; it produces attachment. The first step of this attachment is the next stage, Cleaving, the effort to retain the object of Desire. The last state of this attachment is Formation of Being. The term Existence is often used for this stage, but as it is a link between the present and future, and the preliminary step for Birth, I believe that 'Formation of Being' is a more fitting term.

Desire, Cleaving and Formation of Being represent the three stages of the activities of an adult, and together constitute the Three Causes in the Present. While an individual is enjoying the effects of the past, he is forming the causes for the future. While the plum fruit is ripening on the tree, the core in the fruit is being formed. By the time the fruit is ripe and falls to the ground, the core too is ready to bring forth a new tree of its own to bear more fruits in the future.

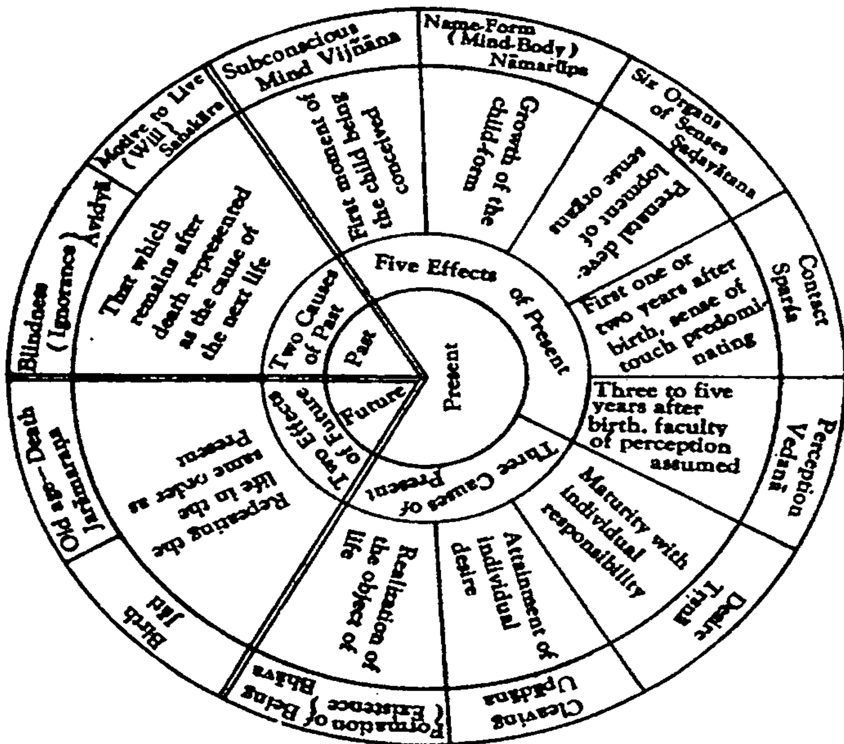
As to the Future there are two stages—Birth and Old-age-Death, or, in short, Birth and Death. When viewed from the Three Causes in the Present, Birth and Death may be termed the effects. But when viewed in the light of the continuous Wheel of Life, we may regard the future as the time when the Causes in the Present open out and close. Also, the Effects of the Future contain in themselves causes for the life still further in the future.

The present is one whole life, and so is the future. Past, Present and Future are each a whole life. In this Wheel of Life, the present is explained particularly minutely with eight stages, but in truth Blindness and Will to Live of the past and Birth and Death of the future have the same constituent stages as those of the present.

Because we human beings are accustomed to make the present the starting point of consideration, naturally the future is regarded as effects of the present. Therefore the life in the future is given descriptively as Birth and Death. And because the past is regarded as the cause of the present, it is given as causal principles, Blindness and Will to Live.

It is quite possible to reconstruct the Wheel of Life in the following manner in which Birth and Death are to be regarded

as merely an abbreviated description of a whole life and Blindness and Will to Live are to be regarded as an ideological description of a round of life. Past, Present and Future are relative terms.



It is clear that the Causation Theory of Buddhism is not like the theory of causality of classical physical science which is a fixed theory. In Buddhism every stage is a cause when viewed from its effect ; when viewed from the antecedent cause, it is an effect. It may be also said that there is a cause in the effect, and an effect in the cause. There is nothing fixed in this theory.

The Blindness which remains after the death of a living

thing is the crystallization of the actions (*karma*) which the living being performed during its life, or, in other words, the 'energy' or influence of the actions that remain. One's action (*karma*) is the dynamic manifestation of mental and physical energy. This latent energy may be called action-influence or potential energy. Action-influence remains after the action ceases, and this is what makes the Wheel of Life move. As long as there is energy, it has to work, and the Cycles of Causations and Becomings will inevitably—subconsciously or blindly—go on forever.

In other words, a living being determines its own nature and existence by its own actions. Therefore we may say the living being is self-created. The act of self-creation has continued in the past for thousands and millions of lives, and the living being has gone around the circle of the Twelve Divisioned Cycle of Causations and Becomings over and over again.

According to the nature of the preceding actions, the next Wheel of Life may be of a higher order or of a lower order. That is, a living being may assume any form of life—human form, or animal form, or even the form of a heavenly being (*deva*) according to the nature of the actions which caused its becoming. The repetition of the change from one form of life to another is called *saṅsāra* (undulation of life).

Often *saṅsāra* ('constant flow') is translated as 'transmigration of soul,' but that is a very misleading translation, for the idea is not that a soul lives after the death of the body and moves into another body. *Saṅsāra* means the creation of a new life by the influence of the actions of the former living being. In the first place, Buddhism denies the existence of the soul. Life is like the waves on water ; the vibration of one particle causes the vibration of the next particle and thus the waves are transmitted a long distance. One wave is one life, and the series of lives is *saṅsāra*. In Buddhism the series of lives do not go on infinitely as in a straight line. They turn in a circle and repeat the circle over and over again. The Wheel of Life is a small circle of one life, while the great circle (the series of the Wheel of Life) is *saṅsāra*.

Since this self-creation is regulated by the actions of the

individual being, it does not depend upon the authority of another—for instance, God. Nor is there any confusion among the action-influence of different individuals. 'Self-acted, self-rewarded '; 'For a good cause, a good result ; for an evil cause, an evil result,'—these are the rules.

Sometimes action is divided into two kinds, 'drawing action' and 'fulfilling action.' Drawing action causes a being to be born as a man, as a *deva,* or as a beast ; no other force can draw a living being into a particular form of life. After the kind of life has been determined, the fulfilling action completes the formal quality of the living being so that it will be a thorough specimen of the kind.

There are two kinds of action-influence : individual action-influence and common action-influence. Individual action-influence creates the individual being. Common action-influence creates the universe itself. This is the meaning of the words 'individual effect' and ' common effect' as used in Buddhism.

From another point of view action may be classified into three groups : good action, evil action and neutral action. Also, according to the way its retribution is received, action may be classified into four, as follows : action to receive retribution immediately, action to receive retribution in the present life, action to receive retribution in the life to come, and action to receive retribution in one of the lives following the next.

There are two ways of viewing the process of becoming. The order of cause and effect is usually regarded as arising in sequence in relation to time. However, when all the factors of the Twelve Divisioned Cycle of Causation are considered as belonging to one being, we see that it possesses all at the same time. (One does not abandon the Six Organs of Senses to gain Contact.) Therefore we may regard all factors as mutually interdependent as if in a ring, developing simultaneously, none being purely a cause or purely an effect.

Buddhism regards all things in the universe as 'existence depending upon series of causes.' Only when there are causes is there existence. Without causes there can be no existence. No existence is permanent or conclusive. In Buddhist termi-

nology, such an existence is called 'conditional existence.' Such a way of regarding all things is called 'knowing and perceiving reality as such.' To regard all things in the universe as dynamic becoming is a characteristic doctrine of Buddhism.

Of the Twelve Stages of Causation, Blindness, Desire and Cleaving are called Delusions, while Will to Live and Formation of Being are called Effect-causing Actions. The rest of the cycle—the five effects in the Present and the two in the Future—are called Suffering or the effects which result in Suffering.

Delusion is the illness of the mind while Effect-causing Action is its physical manifestation, and the result is Suffering. For instance, one may be angry in mind and act accordingly, striking or killing, and later suffer retribution. From the suffering of retribution one will get into more delusions and act and suffer, thus repeating the same wandering again and again. Such is the Chain of Causation by Action-influence. Who or what is responsible for the progression of the Chain of Causation by Action-influence? To explain this question clearly we pass on to a discussion of Causation by the Ideation-store.

(b) CAUSATION BY THE IDEATION-STORE (*Ālaya-vijñāna*)

Actions (*karma*) are divided into three groups, i.e., those by the body, those by speech and those by volition. When one makes up one's mind to do something, one is responsible for it and is liable to retribution, because volition is a mind-action even if it is not expressed in speech or manifested in physical action. But the mind being the inmost recess of all actions, the causation ought to be attributed to the mind-*store* or Ideation-*store*.

The Buddhist ideation theory divides the mind into eight faculties: the eye-sense, the ear-sense, the nose-sense, the tongue-sense, the body-sense, the co-ordinating sense-center (the 6th, *mano-vijñāna*), the individualizing thought-center of egotism (the 7th, *manas-vijñāna*), and the storing-center of ideation (the 8th, *ālaya-vijñāna*) — Ideation-store.

Of these eight faculties the seventh and the eighth require explanation. The seventh, the Individualizing Center of Egotism is the center where all the selfish ideas, egotistic opinions, arrogance, self-love, illusions and delusions arise. The eighth, the Storing Center of Ideation, is where the 'seeds' of all manifestations are deposited and later expressed in manifestations. Buddhism holds that the origin of all things and events is the effect of ideation. We shall return later to the subject when we come to the theory of cognition in the Idealistic School. Let it suffice at present to say that the Storing Center of Ideation is the 'seed bed' of all that exists. Every seed lies in the Storing Center and when it sprouts out into the object-world a reflection returns as a new seed. That is, the mind reaches out into the outer world and, perceiving objects, puts new ideas into the mind-store. Again, this new seed sprouts out to reflect back a still newer seed. Thus the seeds accumulate and all are stored there together. When they are latent, we call them seeds, but when active we call them manifestations. The old seeds, the manifestations and the new seeds are mutually dependent upon each other, forming a cycle which forever repeats the same process. This is called the Chain of Causations by Ideation.

That which makes the seed or subconscious thought sprout out into actual manifestation, that is, the motive force which makes the chain of causation move, is nothing but ideation. It is easy to see from this theory of Causation by Ideation that Delusion, Action and Suffering originate from mind-action, or ideation.

The Storing Center of Ideation is carried across rebirth to determine what the next form of life will be. This Storing Center might be regarded as similar to the soul in other forms of religion. According to the Buddhist doctrine, however, what is reborn is not the soul, but is the result of the actions performed in the preceding life. In Buddhism the existence of the soul is denied.

One may ask from where this Storing Center of Ideation comes. To explain this question we must study the third theory of Causation.

(c) Causation by Thusness (*Tathatā*)

Thusness, or suchness, is the only term which can be used to express the ultimate indefinable, the unnameable reality. It is otherwise called the Matrix of Thus-come. Thus-come is Buddha-nature hidden in ordinary human nature. 'Thus-come' is a designation of the Buddha employed by himself instead of 'I' or 'we,' but not without special meaning. After he had attained Enlightenment, he met the five ascetics with whom he had formerly shared his forest life. These five ascetics addressed him saying "Friend, Gotama." The Buddha admonished them, saying that they ought not treat the Thus-come (thus enlightened I come) as their friend and their equal, because he was now the Enlightened One, the Victorious, All-wise One. When he had 'thus come' in his present position as the instructor of all men and even of *devas*, they should treat him as the Blessed One and not as an old friend.

Again, when the Buddha went back to Kapilavastu, his former home, he did not go to the palace of his father, but lived in the banyan grove outside the town, and as usual went out to beg daily. Suddhodana, his king-father, could not bear the idea of his own son, the prince, begging on the streets of Kapilavastu. At once, the king visited the Buddha in the grove and entreated him to return to the palace. The Buddha answered him in the following words : "If I were still your heir, I should return to the palace to share the comfort with you, but my lineage has changed. I am now a successor to the Buddhas of the past, all of whom have 'thus gone' (*Tathāgata*) as I am doing at present, living in the woods and begging. So your Majesty must excuse me." The king understood the words perfectly and became a pupil of the Buddha at once.

Thus-come and Thus-gone have practically the same meaning. The Buddha used them both and usually in their plural forms. Sometimes the words were used for a sentient being who thus comes, i.e., comes in the ordinary way. Thus-come and Thus-gone can therefore be used in two senses : 'The one who is enlightened but comes in an ordinary way' or 'The one who comes in an ordinary way simply.' The phrase

'Son of man' in Christianity has somewhat the same meaning.

Now, Thusness or the Matrix of Thus-come or Thus-gone means the true state of all things in the universe, the source of an Enlightened One, *the basis of enlightenment*. When static, it is Enlightenment itself (with no relation to time or space); but, when dynamic, it is in human form assuming an ordinary way and feature of life. Thusness and the Matrix of Thus-come are practically one and the same—the ultimate truth. In Mahāyāna the ultimate truth is called Suchness or Thusness.[3]

We are now in a position to explain the Theory of Causation by Thusness. Thusness in its *static* sense is spaceless, timeless, all-equal, without beginning or end, formless, colorless, because the thing itself without its manifestation cannot be sensed or described. Thusness in its *dynamic* sense can assume any form; when driven by a pure cause it takes a lofty form: when driven by a tainted cause it takes a depraved form. Thusness, therefore, is of two states. The one is the Thusness itself; the other is its manifestation, its state of life and death.

There are therefore three series of causations to be considered: (a) Causation by Action-influence as depicted in the Wheel of Life; (b) To explain the origin of action, Causation by Ideation-store; (c) To explain the origin of the ideation-store, Causation by Thusness. The ideation-store of a human being is determined by his nature as a human being and this nature is a particular dynamic form of Thusness. One should not ask where Thusness or the Matrix of Thus-come originates, because it is the noumenon, the ultimate indescribable Thusness.

Next we must consider the wholesale causation of the universe, the universe being the dynamic manifestation of Thusness.

(d) Causation by the Universal Principle (*Dharma-dhātu*)

We have now penetrated the depth of the origin of causa-

[3] For explanation see p. 41.

tion, but it is still necessary to consider the mutual relationship of the becomings of all things, and thus we pass on to the idea of universal causation.

The universe (all things) is the dynamic manifestation or expression of the static principle. All things are mutually dependent, mutually permeating without giving any hindrance to one another.

Dharma-dhātu means 'the elements of the principle' and has the two aspects of (1) the state of Thusness or noumenon and (2) the world of phenomenal manifestation. In this Causation Theory it is usually used in the latter sense, but in speaking of the ideal world as realized, the former sense is to be applied.

Buddhism holds that nothing was created singly or individually. All things in the universe—matter and mind—arose simultaneously, all things in it depending upon one another, the influence of each mutually permeating and thereby making a universal symphony of harmonious totality. If one item were lacking, the universe would not be complete ; without the rest, one item cannot be. When the whole cosmos arrives at a harmony of perfection, it is called the 'Universe One and True,' or the 'Lotus Store.' In this ideal universe all beings will be in perfect harmony, each finding no obstruction in the existence and activity of another.

Although the idea of the interdependence and simultaneous rise of all things is called the Theory of Universal Causation, the nature of the rise being universal, it is rather a philosophy of the totality of all existence than a philosophy of origination.

According to this theory, four states of the universe are to be distinguished : (1) the real, or the world of actual life—the factual world ; (2) the ideal, or the world of law or principle ; (3) the ideal realized, or the world in which the principle is applied in actual life, or the fact and the principle harmonized ; (4) the real harmonized, or the world in which actuality attains harmony in itself. The first, second and third states are easily understood, for those are the ideas often discussed by thinking men. But the fourth may be somewhat difficult to understand, because in these individualistic modern times

it is usually thought that one individual is inevitably opposed to another, that classes in a society are opposed among themselves, that a business concern is in competition with another.

The idea of Universal Principle, on the other hand, demonstrates that all things in the real world ought to have harmony among themselves, and it advances the following reasons : (1) because of the simultaneous rise of all things ; (2) because of the mutual permeation of the influence of all things ; (3) because of the necessity of reciprocal identification between all beings (mutual self-negation to agree with each other) for the realization of harmony ; (4) because of the necessity of unity, or harmony, between the leaders and the followers for the attainment of a purpose ; (5) because all things have their origin in ideation—therefore a similar ideal ought to be expected of all ; (6) because all things are the result of causation and therefore are mutually dependent ; (7) because all things are indeterminate or indefinite in character but mutually complementary—therefore they are free to exist in harmony with all things ; (8) because of the fact that all beings have the nature of Buddha dormant in them ; (9) because of the fact that all beings, from the highest to the lowest, are parts of one and the same *Maṇḍala* (circle) ; (10) because of mutual reflection of all activities—as in a room surrounded by mirrors, the movement of one image causes the movement of the thousand reflections. Buddhist writers enumerate twenty reasons, but for our purpose the above ten will suffice.

(2) THE PRINCIPLE OF INDETERMINISM AND INDETERMINATION

Determinism means the theory of being determined by Fate, Nature, God, or the like. Mechanism generally takes a similar attitude towards the question of free will of man. Some of the modern physicists have proposed the theory of indeterminism because it is experimentally impossible to determine the conditions for determinism ; the theory generalized is said

to be that of 'uncertainty relation.' According to this idea, the nature of things or substances can in no way be determined by reason, experiment, or science. This theory can be called 'indeterminateness,' which is opposed to the old theory that everything can be determined by experiment. Generally speaking, Buddhism has no concern with either determinism or determinateness because it is a religion of self-creation : it holds the theory of free will (not absolute) within the sphere of human beings.

Buddhism, therefore, has nothing to do with fatalism, for it does not admit the existence of anything like destiny or the decree of fate. According to Buddhism all living beings have assumed the present life as the result of self-creation, and are, even at present, in the midst of creating themselves. In other words, every being is a stage of dynamic becoming. Although the grade and form of life vary in each birth, one should not think of the strict distinction of time as past or future. In truth there is present only. That is to say, we have a long continuity of existence, birth and death being simply the rise and fall of the waves in the ocean of life. Birth and death are not the predestined fate of a living being but a 'corollary of action (*karma*),' as it has been called by some. One who acts must sooner or later reap the effect ; while experiencing an effect, one is sowing seeds anew, thus causing the next wave of life to be high or low according to the nature of one's preceding actions.

Now, by way of contrast, let us examine other Eastern schools of thought. Confucianism is determinism in so far as it maintains that Heaven's decree is the basic principle of human life. The same is true of Taoism in that it holds Tao to be the source of all things. With Brahmanism of India, too, Brahman is made the creative principle or a personified god. Similar ideas of determinism can be found among many of the Western schools of thought.

Buddhism, on the other hand, has quite a different method of approach. While practically all the schools of thought begin with a static first principle, Buddhism begins with the actual, dynamic world, and the individual, by cultivating oneself,

strives to realize the ideal in the end. *Saṁsāra* (the rise and fall of life) is not an onward flow, but a 'wavicle' circle, each wave being a cycle of life appearing on the great orbit of *Saṁsāra*. It has no beginning or end, just as one cannot point out the beginning of a circle.

There is, therefore, no room for the idea of a First Cause or Creation which might determine things. In the *Dhammapada* (Book of Religious Verse) the idea is described as follows : "All that we are is the result of what we have thought ; it is founded on our thoughts ; it is made up of our thoughts." We must remember, however, that though the will is free or undetermined in the human world, it may appear as abstract energy-instinct or animal desire which is not undetermined among the beasts and lower forms of life which are the lesser waves in the continuity of self-creation. The individual is self-creating and freely so, largely because he has no determinate nature or character.

The motion of the mind-action which defines the form of an individual life is like the motion of a corpuscle in the physical world. All things, matter and mind, have no substratum, no soul, no abiding self-reality, no such thing as absolute self or ego. What appears to be real is a temporary existence, an instant in a causal sequence, one ripple in the long line of waves, the effect of two or more causes combined.

If you do not insist on the existence of a central principle or absolute ego, you may define yourself in any way you please. When speaking roughly, it is quite correct to say that you exist and to describe yourself. But in minutely definite and exact language, it is impossible to define your own self or to describe yourself. However, there is no danger of losing yourself, for no one can extinguish the influence of your action, or latent energy. A particular manifestation of that energy in human form is yourself and the *whole* of you—for the present.

A substance may become energy and energy may become substance, but one must not think that the energy is preserved always in one and the same substance. By virtue of your own action you will get your next life and so on along the long line

of lives. Having no permanent center, a living being changes itself as time goes on, sometimes for better, sometimes for worse. Your self does not exist apart from the changing manifestations, but the cycles of the changing manifestations as a whole constitute yourself. Therefore there is no possibility of the disappearance of your identity.

The idea of indetermination which has been seen as the basis of the idea of indeterminism is expressed by many terms : 'Having no special nature,' 'Having no definite nature,' 'All things are emptiness,' 'Having no special state,' 'All are of temporary existence,' 'All are existence by combination of causes.' 'No substance, no duration' is a root idea of Buddhism.

(3) The Principle of Reciprocal Identification

Hīnayāna Buddhism is generally satisfied with analysis and is rarely inclined to synthesis. The Mahāyāna, on the other hand, is generally much inclined to the reciprocal identification of two conflicting ideas. If one party adheres to his own idea while the other party insists on his own, a separation will be the natural result. This is what happens in the Hīnayāna. The Mahāyāna teaches that one should put one's own idea aside for a moment and identify one's own position with that of the other party, thus mutually synthesizing the opposed positions. Then both parties will find themselves perfectly united. This is really a process of self-denial which is minutely taught in the dialectic method of the School of Negativism (*Śūnyatā*, Void).[4]

The word for 'reciprocal identification' is more literally 'mutual' and 'regarding,' that is, 'mutually viewing from each other's point,' 'mutual identification,' which is as much as to say an 'exchange of views.' It is indispensable to bring about a reconciliation of conflicting opinions or to effect a syncretism among opposing speculative systems. This trend of thought,

[4] To be discussed in detail later.

in fact, served greatly to restore the original idea of tolerance which was revealed in the Buddha's teaching but was almost entirely lost in the various Schools of Hīnayāna which resulted from differences of opinion.

Among the reasons which justify such identification of opposing views are the following : (1) Identity is assumed because two distinct factors are united into one as copper and zinc are mixed together to form one alloy, bronze. This identity in form is the explanation common to all Buddhist schools. (2) Identity is assumed because one's front and one's back may appear differently but in reality they are one. There are opposing views as are the front and back of the same house. In the same way, if life is looked at from an illusioned view, it is life, but, if it is looked at from an enlightened view, it is Nirvāṇa. The two views simply refer to one thing. Some Mahāyāna schools hold this explanation of identity in substance. (3) Identity is assumed because the whole entity is entirely one, as water and wave, the whole of water being manifested as wave.

These three aspects or connotations of identity may be summarized as : (1) Identity in form as two different elements combining to form unity. (2) Identity in substance although there may be opposing angles. (3) Identity in form and substance as water and wave (phenomenology).

Reciprocal identification by mutual self-negation, when realized, has a great practical value in smoothing out conflicting opinions or in creating sympathy among opposing parties. Through one or more of these methods diversity can be brought to union, and illusory existence is synthesized with the enlightened life. Such ideas as seeing noumenon in phenomenon, regarding motion as calm or calm as motion, identifying action and inaction, purity and impurity, perfection and imperfection, one and many, the particular and the general, permanence and impermanence, are all attainable by this theory. It is one of the most important ideas of Mahāyāna and is indispensable for a clear understanding of the Buddhist doctrine as taught in the Mahāyāna.

The most important application of this doctrine concerns

the identification of life and Nirvāṇa. Life itself is Nirvāṇa, just as water and wave are identical. Life is one thing and Nirvāṇa is another lifeless thing. If one attains Nirvāṇa while yet living, life becomes identified with Nirvāṇa but only in the sense of a state of mind because the body still exists. But perfect or complete Nirvāṇa is attained at death. The extinction of the body is the *sine qua non* of perfect Nirvāṇa, just as the cessation of the wave results in the perfect quiescence of the water.

(4) The Principle of True Reality (Thusness)

Many of the problems concerning Thus-come, Thus-gone, Thusness, or Suchness have been studied in connection with the Causation theory. Thusness is the ultimate foundation of Buddhist thought concerning the real state of all that exists.

It is natural for people to seek first the innermost essence among the outward appearance of all things or to seek an unchanging fact among many changing things. Failing in this, people try to distinguish the unknowable from the knowable, the real from the apparent, or the thing-in-itself from the thing-for-us. This effort, too, will end in failure, for what they select as the real or the thing-in-itself is utterly beyond human knowledge. Such efforts may be called the search for the world-principle or for the life-principle. The method of search and the resulting theories are various. Some are monistic or pantheistic, while others are dualistic or pluralistic.

Against all these views Buddhism stands aloof by itself. Buddhism is atheistic—there is no doubt about it. When questioned about the First Cause or Principle, the Buddha always remained reticent. As to the life-principle, he denied the existence of an ego or soul or any kind of thing which one may call the real self, as we have discussed before. To see the true nature or the true state of all things is not to find one in many or one before many, nor is it to distinguish unity from diversity or the static from the dynamic. *The true state is the state without any special condition.* It is, in fact, 'the true

reality without a reality,' i.e., without any specific character or nature. It is very difficult for the human mind to understand this idea of a reality in which there is no 'substance' at all.

The idea of an abiding substance with changing qualities is very deeply rooted in our habits of thought. Buddhist schools, no matter what they are, Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna, realistic or idealistic, are utterly free from such a habit of thought and all maintain the theory of pure change without substratum. When any Buddhist speaks of the true state of reality he means the state without a specific nature. According to the general views of the Hīnayāna, the state without any special condition is Nirvāṇa, because Nirvāṇa is perfect freedom from bondage. The Realistic School (the Sarvāstivāda), belonging to the Hīnayāna, goes a step further and assumes that selflessness, impermanence and Nirvāṇa (flamelessness) are the true state of all things. The Nihilistic School (the Satyasiddhi) holds that all things, matter and mind, are void or unreal and that nothing exists even in Nirvāṇa.

The Mahāyāna teaches, on the one hand, that the truth can be discovered only by negative views of becoming,[5] and, on the other hand, holds that true perfection can be realized negatively in the denial of the illusory and causal nature of existence.[6] The 'Wreath' School [7] of the Mahāyāna thinks that the ideal world, or the World One-and-True, is without any independent individual. The 'Lotus' School [8] identifies the manifested state as it is and the true entity immanent-in-nature.

On the whole, to see only the fact that a flower is falling is, after all, a one-sided view according to the theory of impermanence. We ought to see that immanent in the fact of a flower's falling there lies the fact of a flower's blooming, and also immanent in the blooming of the flower there is the fact of its falling. Thus the opposition of falling (extinction) and blooming (becoming) is synthesized and we form the view of

[5] Mādhyamika, the Negativistic School.
[6] Vijñāptimātra, the Idealistic School.
[7] Avataṁsaka, the Totalistic School.
[8] Puṇḍarīka, the Phenomenological School.

reciprocal identification which is an unbiased view of the mean, or Middle Path.

This amounts to saying that we see inaction in action and action in inaction, immotion in motion and motion in immotion, calm in wave and wave in calm. We thus arrive at the true state of all things, i.e., the Middle Path. And this is what is meant by Thusness or Suchness.

When the view is negatively expressed it indicates the true negation or Void, because any special state of things is denied altogether. Such is considered to be the ultimate idea of Buddhist philosophy. When the ultimate principle is considered from the universal point of view, it is called '*Dharma-dhātu*' (the Realm of Principle), but when it is considered from the personal point of view, it is named '*Tathāgata-garbha*' (the Matrix of Thus-come or Thus-gone). Other ways of expressing this same idea are: '*Buddha-tā*' or '*Buddha-svabhāva*' (the Buddha Nature), and '*Dharma-kāya*' (the Spiritual- or Law-body). These are all practically synonymous.[9] Without knowing the principle of Thusness or Void in the highest sense of the word, one can in no way understand the Mahāyāna doctrine. The word 'void' in its highest sense does not mean 'nothingness,' but indicates 'devoid of special conditions,' 'unconditioned.'

(5) THE PRINCIPLE OF TOTALITY (*Dharma-dhātu*)

Concerning the principle of Totality much has been said already in connection with the discussion of the Principle of Universal Causation. We have seen that there were four kinds of universe to be considered, namely; (1) the world of actual life, (2) the world of ideal principles, (3) the world of the ideal principles realized, (4) the world of actual life harmonized. The first, second and third can be easily understood, but the fourth is a rather uncommon idea. In the actual world

[9] Some of these will be encountered later in detail in studies of the special schools of Buddhism.

individualism is apt to predominate, and competition, conflict, dispute and struggle too often will disturb the harmony. To regard conflict as natural is the way of usual philosophies. Buddhism sets up a world in which actual life attains an ideal harmony.

The reasons brought forward to prove the possibility of such a world have already been shown.[10] According to this principle no one being will exist by itself and for itself, but the whole world will move and act in unison as if the whole were under general organization. Such an ideal world is called 'the World One-and-True' or 'the Lotus-store.'

The principle is based upon the universal causation of *Dharma-dhātu* (Realm of Principle) which we may regard as the self-creation of the universe itself. One should not forget that it is nothing but a causation by the common action-influence of all beings, and that the principle is also based on the theory of selflessness In the Buddhist terminology, the principle of totality is called 'the Avataṅsaka' ('Wreath'). This will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

(6) The Principle of Nirvaṇa or Perfect Freedom

To understand Buddhism properly we must begin at the end of the Buddha's career. The year 486 B.C. or thereabouts saw the conclusion of the Buddha's activity as a teacher in India. The death of the Buddha is called, as is well known, 'Nirvāṇa'—'the state of a fire blown out.' When a fire is blown out, nothing remains to be seen. So the Buddha was considered to have entered into an invisible state which can in no way be depicted in word or in form.

Just prior to his attaining Nirvāṇa, in the Sāla grove of Kuśinagara, he spoke to his disciples to the following effect : "Do not wail saying 'Our teacher has passed away, and we have no one to follow.' What I have taught, the *Dharma* (ideal) with the *vinaya* (disciplinary) rules, will be your teacher after

[10] See section I (d).

my departure. If you adhere to them and practice them uninterruptedly, is it not the same as if my *Dharma* body[11] (*Dharma-kāya*) remained here forever ?"

In spite of these thoughtful instructions some of his disciples were expressing a dissenting idea even before his funeral. It was natural, therefore, for the mindful elders to think of calling a council of elders in order to preserve the orthodox teaching of the Buddha. They consulted King Ajātaśatru who at once ordered the eighteen monasteries around his capital to be repaired for housing the members of the coming Council of Rājagriha.

When the time arrived five hundred selected elders met together. Ānanda rehearsed the *Dharmas* (*Sūtras*) while Upāli explained the origin of each of the *Vinaya* rules. There was no necessity of rehearsing the *Vinaya* rules themselves since they had been compiled during the Buddha's lifetime for the weekly convocation for confessions. At the council a fine collection of the *Dharma* and the *Vinaya* was made, the number of *Sūtras* was decided, and the history of the disciplinary rules was compiled.

The result of the elders' activity was acknowledged as an authority by those who had a formalistic and realistic tendency. There were, however, some who differed from them in their opinion—Purana, for instance, who was skilled in preaching. Purana was in a bamboo grove near Rājagriha during the council, and, being asked by some layman, is said to have answered : "The council may produce a fine collection. But I will keep to what I heard from my teacher myself." So we may presume that there were some who had idealistic and free-thinking tendencies.

(a) THE UNWRITTEN SACRED LITERATURE

The whole collection of the sacred literature authorized by

[11] By '*dharma* body' the Buddha meant that his physical body would pass away but that his teaching would remain as his ideal 'body.' This is the interpretation by Hinayānists.

the council was not written on paper or palm leaf during a period of about four hundred years. It is well known that Brahmanism has never written down its Vedic literature even to this day—especially those revealed texts called '*śruti*' ('hearing'). We may imagine that Buddhism simply followed the example of the older religion, but there were other reasons as well. First, they dared not desecrate the sweet voice and kindly words of the Blessed One by putting them down in the profane letters of a foreign origin. The Buddha had once forbidden the translation of his words into the Vedic Sanskrit. How much less would it please him to write his words in the foreign Accadian alphabet, which was used only for commercial and popular purposes? Secondly, the language they adopted in the council was, in all probability, a commingled one, something like the Pāli language, that is, the language of Pāṭaliputra. It was not advisable that their sacred language and literature should be open to the public, especially when there were some dissenting elders of a free-thinking tendency. Thirdly, to put the Buddha's holy words to letters might have seemed to them a sacrilege just as much as depicting his sacred image in painting or sculpture of which I shall speak immediately. At any rate, the whole literature was kept in memory and was not committed to writing until about four centuries later.

The Buddhist community, quite different from that of the Brahmans, was an assortment of all four castes coming from all quarters, and was not suitable for a serious recital of the holy words. The result was an imperfect transmission. Fearing the loss and distortion of the original teachings, King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī of Ceylon gave orders to commit the whole literature to writing in Sinhalese characters, about the year 80 B.C.

(b) The Unrepresented Sacred Image

None of the earlier sculptures of Sānchi and Bārhut represent the Buddha in human figure. It is remarkable to us that the principal events of the Buddha's life have been fully given in sculpture without a figure of the hero. How was that

possible? The Buddha at birth is represented by a full blooming lotus; the Buddha in Enlightenment by the bodhi tree with a rail around it; the Buddha in his first preaching by a wheel, above which a *tri-ratna* mark is sometimes added; the Buddha in his begging round, or mendicancy, by a bowl; and the like. If suggestion be a means of true art, the early Buddhist artists understood it perfectly and utilized the idea skilfully for practical purposes.

However, all this does not necessarily mean that the elders did not represent the Buddha at all during his lifetime, for there is a legend which tells of their making an image for the purpose of offering veneration during the Brother's (the Buddha's) absence. They were formalistic and realistic as mentioned above, and so if the Buddha was actually before them, they had a right to depict him in painting or sculpture. Now that he had passed into Nirvāṇa, however, it was improper to represent the one who no longer really lived. It was after a considerable development of the Gāndhāra art that the southern school of Buddhism began to have images of Buddha. This was, I believe, about the same time when the Buddha's teachings were committed to writing, i.e., 80 B.C.

The elders of idealistic and free-thinking tendencies, whom we might regard as the forerunners of the Mahāyāna, would not hold any meetings for the rehearsal of the Buddha's sermons, nor would they enlarge upon their *Vinaya* rules beyond what was laid down by the Buddha himself. They would commit those sacred words to memory or to writing as they pleased. They did not hesitate in using their talents in painting or sculpture to depict the Buddha's image according to their own ideal of beauty and perfection, as they did in the Gāndhāra art.

The trend of the free-thinking mind can also be seen in the metaphysical treatises of the Vaibhāṣikas (Optionalists), in which several opinions about *dharmas* or *abhidharmas* (higher *dharma*) are gathered together and some optional ones have been selected and recommended for study. Though the Vaibhāṣika School belonged to the Hīnayāna, it already betrayed a tendency toward the free-thinking school. Such free-thinking

people would be bold in exegesis, erudition, annotation, or in forming and expressing opinion. This, however, does not mean that they departed from the original teachings of the Buddha.

As to Nirvāṇa, the free-thinking group among the early Buddhists took the greatest liberty in interpretation, because the Buddha did not say much about it during his lifetime although it is sometimes touched upon and glorified in his poetic verses, as in the *Dhammapada*. Whenever he was asked by a questioner whether he was to live after death or what sort of world he was to enter after Nirvāṇa, he always remained silent. When the Buddha remained silent to a question requiring an answer of 'yes' or 'no,' his silence usually meant assent. But his silence on the question concerning Nirvāṇa was due to the fact that his listeners could not understand the profound philosophy involved.

One day a certain man said to the Buddha that he would join the band of his disciples if the Buddha would give clear answers to the questions : Would the Buddha ever die, and, if so, what would become of him after death ? What was the first cause of the universe, and what was the universe going to be like in the future ? Why do men live and what becomes of them after death ? The Buddha's answer was to the following effect : Suppose you were shot by a poison arrow and a physician came to draw the arrow from your body and to dress the wound, would you first ask him questions as to what the arrow was made of, what the composition of the poison was, and who shot the arrow, and, if the physician did not dress the wound, what was going to happen, and such blissful questions, and refuse the treatment until the physician answered all the questions to your satisfaction ? You would be dead before you obtained the answers.[12]

In this parable the Buddha advised the questioner to become his disciple without wasting his time on problems which were too profound to be understood by an ordinary man—probably after a long cultivation as a disciple of the Buddha he might come to understand.

[12] See *Majjhima-Nikāya*, 144.

After his departure most of the metaphysical discussions and speculations centered around the subject of Nirvāṇa. The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the Sanskrit fragments of which were discovered recently—one in Central Asia and another in Kōyasan—indicates a vivid discussion on the questions as to what is 'Buddha-nature,' '*Dharma*-nature,' 'Thusness,' 'the Realm of Principle,' '*Dharma*-body' and the distinction between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna ideas. All of these topics relate to the problem of Nirvāṇa, and indicate the great amount of speculation undertaken on this most important question.

The main problem of Buddhism, either formalistic or idealistic, was concerning the extinction of human passion, because this distorted state of mind is considered to be the source of all the evils of human life. Human passion can be extinguished even during one's lifetime. Therefore liberation from such disorder of mind is the chief object of Buddhist culture. The extinction (Nirvāṇa) of passion, of desire, of sense, of mind and even of individual consciousness are often spoken of.

To the Buddhist mind Nirvāṇa did not contain any idea of deification of the Buddha. It simply meant the eternal continuation of his personality in the highest sense of the word. It meant returning to his original state of Buddha-nature, which is his *Dharma*-body [13] but not his scripture-body [14] as the formalists take it to be. *Dharma* means the 'ideal' itself which the Buddha conceived in his perfect Enlightenment. The idealists hold that the Buddha has *Dharma*-body—the body identical with that ideal. The ideal was expressed in the Buddha's preachings but these preachings were always restricted by the language and the occasion and the listeners. Therefore the idealists hold that the scripture is not the Buddha's ideal itself. This ideal 'body' without any restricting conditions whatever is Nirvāṇa.

The formalists, on the other hand, hold that the scripture

[13] In Mahāyāna, '*Dharma*-body' refers to the pure ideal conceived in his Enlightenment, not merely to his teachings, i.e., his ideal as expressed in words.

[14] 'Scripture-body' means, for the Hīnayānist, that the Buddha continues to live as scripture or teaching.

is the perfect representation of the ideal of the Buddha. Hence their opinion that the Buddha lives forever in the scripture-body, Nirvāṇa being his entire annihilation and extinction otherwise.

Now, let me further illustrate the principle of Nirvāṇa (the state of a fire blown out) in the light of space and time. It was an illusion on the part of philosophers, especially some of the Indian philosophers, to believe that space and time were infinite. Buddhism, however, has never treated space and time as infinite, for Buddhism takes them to be physical matters. Space is considered one of the five elements—earth, water, fire, air and space—and it is sometimes represented to be of round shape.

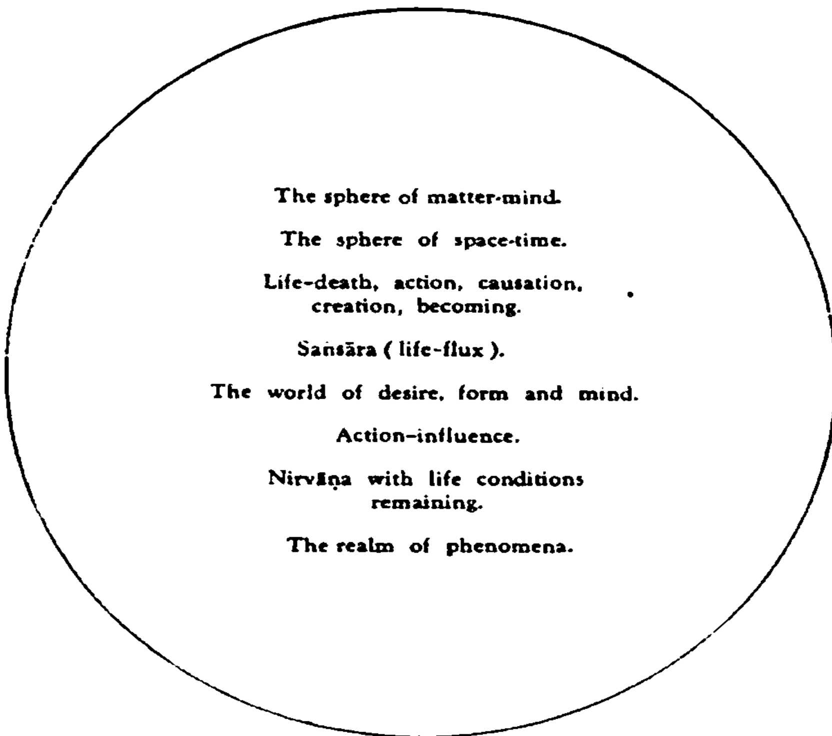
Time is treated as real in some schools while in other schools it is treated as unreal. But it is to be particularly noted that time has never been considered to exist separately from space. That is to say, every being or thing has time of its own. Space and time are always correlative. Men have an average wave-length, or lifetime, of fifty years. But a crane is said to live for a thousand years, and a tortoise even ten thousand years. And with the heavenly beings, their one day and night is said to be as long as the whole fifty years of the earthly men. A day-fly and a morning-glory, on the other hand, live a short wave-length of only one day.

The theory that space is curved, set forth by modern physicists, has considerably facilitated the elucidation of the doctrine of Nirvāṇa. The universe, or the *Dharma-dhātu* (Realm of Principle) as it is technically called, is the region which is occupied by space and time and in which they control all the waves of existence. So, in practice, the space-time world is the ocean of the waves of life and death. It is the sphere of *saṅsāra* (flowing cycles of life), the world of creation, of energy, of action, of causation and ideation, of self-creation and of dynamic becoming. It is the sphere of desire, form (matter) and mind.

In opposition to such a world let us assume theoretically that there must be a sphere that is spaceless and timeless, of no creation, of no causation, and not disturbed by the waves of life and death. There will be no *Dharma-dhātu* in the dynamic

sense of the word, i.e., the manifested world. But there will be the *Dharma-dhātu* in the static sense of the word, i.e., as it is in itself ; that is, Thusness or Suchness, the ultimate state of Nirvāṇa, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, or *Samyak-Sambuddha* (The Properly and Perfectly Enlightened One).

Dharma-dhātu in the sense of the phenomenal world is an encircled and restricted world which may be represented as follows :



Aside from the *Dharma-dhātu* in this sense there is the unrestricted world to be described as follows :

Spaceless-timeless
Nirvāṇa without life-conditions.
Lifeless-deathless.
No creation, no causation, no becoming.
Perfect Enlightenment, perfect freedom.
Thusness, Suchness, the state of
Thus-come, Thus-gone.

Among the Buddhist texts which have come down to us we do not find passages expressly indicating these points. However, we have one text--though its Indian original has not as yet been discovered—which contains the idea much as I have expressed it here.

It says : "In the *dharma-dhātu* (phenomenal world), there are three worlds of desire, form and mind. All created things or beings, both noble and ignoble, both cause and effect, are within the *dharma-dhātu*. Only the Buddha is outside the *dharma-dhātu*." The idea in this text is practically identical with the diagram given above.

The Mahāyāna text of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, not being satisfied with all the negative elucidations, explains Nirvāṇa in affirmative terms as permanency (against worldly impermanence), as bliss (against human suffering); as self (against the selfness of all beings) and as purity (against the pollution of human life). However, as they are all transcendental qualities of the Buddha, these terms ought not be taken in the ordinary senses of the words. For instance, one must not picture to himself a special location, a world of Nirvāṇa, where the Buddha lives in peace and joy, for the Buddha's Nirvāṇa is the 'Nirvāṇa of No Abode.'

An ordinary *arhat* (partially enlightened one) will cut off all the obstructions caused by passion or desire, thereby attaining his goal of annihilation. He finds satisfaction in the destruction of his intellectual life, because he thinks that the source of distinction, opposition or differentiation in things lies in consciousness. He thinks his state of annihilation is the ideal Nirvāṇa. But in truth he has returned to the original blindness (*avidyā*—ignorance) in leaving the obstruction of intellect.

He himself may be thinking that he has done away with blindness. But blindness is the basic principle of existence which cannot be simply cut off, just as darkness cannot be destroyed without a light. The only way to get rid of darkness is to bring a light into the room. By virtue of enlightenment the darkness that bars intellect will be removed.

As a technical term the extinction of human passion is called the 'Nirvāṇa with the condition of being still remaining' or, in a more literal expression, 'the Nirvāṇa with the *upādhi* remnant,' *upādhi* being the material and immaterial condition of being. Plainly, this means becoming a person without passion while yet alive.

Then the next question will be : What is the Nirvāṇa without the *upādhi* remnant ? It is the total extinction of the conditions of being as well as of passion. One may call it the annihilation of being. This is Nirvāṇa or 'Perfect Freedom,' the death of Śākyamuni the Buddha.

The formalistic view of Buddhism here comes to an end with the annihilation of being. But the speculative views of the idealistic standpoint have a fresh start with the passing of the visible Buddha into the invisible state. Even in his lifetime the Buddha had a perfect freedom in intellectual activity, and, while he was a person, he had been super-personally enlightened. How much more free must he be when he passed into the thoroughly unconditioned state of Nirvāṇa ? He had now returned to his 'ideal' body. It is called the Body of His Own Nature, 'Self-natured Body' in contradistinction to the 'Body Manifested for All Beings.' All the incarnation theories entertained in later years have their origin in this interpretation of Nirvāṇa.

The Buddha in Nirvāṇa has a perfect freedom to live anywhere he pleases ; he can act in whatever way he wishes and on that account he has no fixed abode and his Nirvāṇa is called the 'Nirvāṇa of No Abode.' The Blessed One may reappear in this world when he feels the necessity of saving all beings as the historical Śākyamuni did. Therefore, the Buddha, according to the idealistic view, does not live in the world of life and death as he is not bound by causation.

However, at the same time he does not rest at ease in Nirvāṇa because he is the sufferer of others' suffering.

IV. THE KUSHA SCHOOL
(THE ABHIDHARMA-KOŚA SCHOOL)[1]
(Sarvāstivāda, Abhidhārmika)

(Realism : *Ens* School)
[Hīnayānistic]

(1) PRELIMINARY

The Japanese name of the School, Kusha, is an abbreviation of *Abhidharma-kośa*[2] (*kośa*=*Kusha*) which is the title of Vasubandhu's[3] work on realism and may be translated 'The Story of the Higher Special *Dharma*.' To the text we shall return soon.

First of all let us consider what the word '*dharma*' means in Buddhism. It is derived from the verb *dhṛ* (to hold, or to bear), and its noun form, *dharma*, would mean 'that which is held to,' or 'the ideal' if we limit its meaning to mental affairs only. This ideal will be different in scope as conceived by different individuals. In the case of the Buddha it will be Perfect Enlightenment or Perfect Wisdom (*Bodhi*). Secondly, the ideal as expressed in words will be his Sermon, Dialogue, Teaching, Doctrine. Thirdly, the ideal as set forth for his pupils is the Rule, Discipline, Precept, Morality. Fourthly, the ideal to be realized will be the Principle, Theory, Truth, Reason, Nature, Law, Condition. Fifthly, the ideal as realized in a general sense will be Reality, Fact, Thing, Element (created and not created), Mind-and-Matter, Idea-and-Phenomenon. In the Realistić School of the Abhidharma teachers the word *dharma* is used mostly in the fifth and last meaning.

Now we are in a position to understand what *Abhidharma*

[1] Chü-shê.
[2] *Taishō*, No. 1558. French translation by L. de la Vallée Poussin. *L'abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, 6 Volumes : Paris, 1923-31.
[3] C. 420-500 A.D.

means. The prefix *'Abhi-'* gives the sense of either 'further' or 'about.' Therefore, *Abhidharma* would mean 'The Higher or Special *Dharma*' or 'The Discourse of *Dharma*.' Both will do for our purpose. While the *Dharma* is the general teaching of the Buddha, the *Abhidharma* is a special metaphysical discourse brought forward by certain elders.

Most of the Abhidharma schools probably arose after the Council of Aśoka (c. 240 B.C.), because the Abhidharma literature, seven texts in all, was for the first time recognized as one of the Tripiṭaka (three baskets or collections) in this council.[4] At the time of the first and the second councils there were only two Piṭakas (*Sūtra* and *Vinaya*).[5] In this Aśoka Council *Abhidharma* was added to make the Tripiṭaka.

While the orthodox Elders' School (Theravāda) was flourishing in the south, chiefly in Ceylon, a more avowed Realistic School was getting a stronghold in the north, mostly in Kashmir and Gāndhāra.

The existence of this Sarvāstivāda School can be seen in Indian history from the time of the Buddhist Council held during King Aśoka's reign (240 B.C.) down to the time of I-tsing's[6] travel in India (671-695 A.D.).[7] In the *Kathāvatthu Controversy* compiled in the time of King Aśoka, Sarvāstivāda seems to have occupied a strong position among the disputing parties.[8] The principal seat of this school was in Kashmir where its doctrine was taught in its purity and it was finally developed into an elaborate system known as the Vaibhāṣika.

In time another branch of the Vaibhāṣikas was established in Gāndhāra and it seems to have differed from that of Kash-

[4] See my "On the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins," *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1905.

[5] *Sūtra*: Discourses of the Buddha; *Vinaya*: Disciplining rules enunciated by the Buddha.

[6] I-ching.

[7] See my translation of *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (A.D. 671-695) by I-Tsing, Oxford, 1896.

[8] See C. A. F. Rhys Davids and S. Z. Aung's translation, *Points of Controversy*, Pāli Text Society Translation Series, Vol. V, Prefatory notes.

mir in its opinion to some extent, for both were often cited side by side in some texts in use.

The geographical extent of this school was much greater than that of any other school as it was found in all India, its northern frontier, Persia, Central Asia, and also to the south in Sumatra, Java, Cochin-China and all of China.

The Sarvāstivāda School was closely related to the orthodox Theravāda School, from which it was first separated probably before the Council of Aśoka. The idea that all things exist may go back even to the time of the Buddha himself, for the word '*sabban atthi*' (all things exist) is found already in the *Samyuttanikāya*.[9]

The principal *Abhidharma* text of this school was Kātyāyanīputra's *Jñāna-prasthāna* (Source of Knowledge), otherwise called the *Aṣṭa-grantha* (Eight Books), probably compiled as early as 200 B.C. The subsequent works of the school seem to have been a special exegesis on the subject-matter contained in it. At least six *pādas* ('Legs'), as they are designated, have come down to us.

Then probably in the second century A.D.—whether before or after the Buddhist Council of King Kaniṣka's reign, we cannot tell—a great and minute commentary named *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* was compiled on Kātyāyanīputra's work. The word '*vibhāṣā*' means an extensive annotation or various opinions, and this title indicates that many opinions of the time were gathered and criticized in detail and that some optional ones were selected and recorded. The chief object of the *Vibhāṣā* commentary was to transmit the correct exposition of the Abhidharma School which has since then come to be called the Vaibhāṣika School.

Then there appeared a compendium of the Abhidharma doctrine called *Abhidharma-hṛdaya* ('heart of the Higher *Dharmas*,' translated into Chinese in 391 A.D.) by Dharmottara

[9] English translation by C. A. F. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward : *The Book of Kindred Sayings*. Pāli Text Society Translation Series, Vols. VII, X, XIII, XV, XVI, 1918-30. See Rhys Davids' Index to the *Samyutta*, p. 107.

who belonged to the Gāndhāra branch. A commentary on it called *Samyukta-abhidharma-hṛdaya* was written by Dharmatrāta, a pupil of Dharmottara. This work became the fundamental text of the Gāndhāra branch and subsequently of the Chinese Abhidharma School.

The Abhidharma Literature

I

Kātyāyanīputra's *Jñāna-prasthāna* (Source of Knowledge)
alias *Aṣṭa-grantha* (Eight Books)
Six *Pādas* (Legs)
on the above

1 Vasumitra's *Prakarañā-pāda* (Category-leg)	2 Devaśarman's *Vijñāna-kāya* (Consciousness-body)	3 Sariputra's *Dharma-skandha* (Element-group)
4 Maudgalyāyana's *Prajñapti* (World-system)	5 Purṇa's *Dhātu-kāya* (Mental-element-body)	6 Mahākauṣṭhila's *Sangīti-paryāya* (Rehearsal-reading)

Pārśva's *Mahāvibhāṣā* (Great Commentary)
200 Chinese volumes (*chüans* or parts)
Vibhāṣā (Abridged Commentary), 14 Chinese volumes

In Chinese we have thus two transmissions of the *Vibhāṣā*, Large (200 parts) and Small (14 parts). Whether one was an abridgement of the other we cannot tell for certain. But from several points of view we can imagine that the larger one belongs to the Kashmir School and the smaller to the Gāndhāra School.

II

Compendium of the Abhidharma School
Dharmottara's *Abhidharma-hṛdaya*
(Transl. A.D. 391)
|
Dharmatrāta's *Samyukta-abhidharma-hṛdaya*
(Transl. A.D. 426. From this the Chinese
Abhidharma School called P'i-t'an was founded)
|
Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-kośa*
|
Paramārtha's Chinese Translation
(A.D. 563-567)
From this the Chinese Kośa
School called Chü-shê was founded

Hiuen-tsang's (Hsüan-tsang, A.D. 596-664) Chinese Translation
(A.D. 651-654)
After this translation the Kośa School was
completed as a philosophical system chiefly
by Ki, (K'uei-chi, 632-682) pupil of Hiuen-tsang
|
Japanese Kośa School

The Realistic School

Sarvāstivādins
|

Gāndhāra-Abhidhārmikas	Kātyāyanīputra's	Kashmir-Abhidhārmikas

Jñāna-prasthāna
|
Six *Pādas* on it
|
Vaibhāṣikas
Parśva's *Mahāvibhāṣā*
|

larger *vibhāṣā* commentary belonging to the Kashmir branch was also translated, but there appeared no Chinese school or sect representing it. When the *Kośa* text of Vasubandhu was translated by Paramārtha during 563-567 A.D. and again by Hiuen-tsang during 651-654 A.D., the Kośa School, or Chü-shê Tsung, came into existence, was seriously studied, and was made into an indispensable basis of all Buddhist studies. The P'i-t'an School came to be entirely replaced by the new Kośa School.

The Kośa School, or the Kusha School as it is called in Japan, is generally understood to have been brought into Japan in 658 A.D. by Chitsū and Chitatsu, two Japanese priests who studied some time under the famous Hiuen-tsang. It was brought in once again by Gembō (in 735 A.D.) who was a pupil of Chih-chou, the third generation pupil of Ki, a direct disciple of Hiuen-tsang.

In an official document of 793 A.D. the realistic Kusha School was registered as a sect appended to the idealistic Hossō School, no separate position being given to it, because it had no adherents belonging exclusively to it.

(3) PHILOSOPHICAL

The Sāṅkhya philosophy (dualism), one of the oldest philosophies of India, which has several tenets in common with Buddhism, maintains that all things exist eternally though they are constantly changing ; nothing new appears and nothing disappears.

Buddhism, however, holds that everything exists only instantaneously ; there is no abiding substance at all.[11] Both Buddhism and the Sāṅkhya philosophy deny the theory of inherence. Buddhism may be said to hold, therefore, the theory of momentariness or instantaneous being. All reality may be split into separate elements which are instantaneous.

[11] Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. I, p. 109. Substance is *sub-stance*, abiding essence.

This form of pluralism stands in direct opposition to monism, especially that of the Upaniṣads.

The Kusha School further maintains the atomic theory and asserts the existence of three atoms : 1. The finest atom (*paramā-aṇu*) ; 2. The form atom (*aṇu*) ; 3. The fine dust atom (*rajas*). The finest atom is the finest divisible atom of all and cannot be further analyzed. It is conceived only by meditation.

Seven of these finest atoms constitute the form atom which is the finest substance. It is of cubic form. Seven of these form atoms constitute the fine dust atom which can be perceived by the eyes of a *Bodhisattva*, a future Buddha. Furthermore, the shortest of time measures is said to correspond to the transition of one atom to another, and thus space and time are always correlative. Though the atomic theory is set forth very minutely by the realistic Kusha School and also by the nihilistic Jōjitsu School,[12] I shall not dwell on it anymore, as I do not think it essential to these schools which hold the doctrine of momentariness of being.

All elements or *dharmas* which constitute momentary sense-data and thought-data were enumerated by the Realistic School, perhaps for the first time in the history of Indian philosophy. The idea that a thing has no 'sub-stance' goes along with the theory of change or impermanence—everything having no duration. According to this theory only the present exists. The past does not exist, because it is no more, and the future is not real, because it has not yet come into existence.

This theory has been faithfully held by such other Buddhist schools as the Mahāsaṅghika, the Mahīsasaka and the Sautrāntika. The Sarvāstivāda School, however, because it has its origin in the orthodox Theravāda School, raises a rigorous objection and asserts that the past and the future are real, because the present has its root in the past and its consequence in the future. Besides, it holds that the three periods of time ought to exist separately, because the notions

[12] Satyasiddhi.

of past and future would not occur in us without separate realities.

Judging from the discussions recorded in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* literature, great importance seems to have been laid on the separateness of the three periods of time and the reality of each. The reality of the three periods of time, however, does not mean that the three periods themselves are eternally extant, nor does it mean that time is a real substance. It means that all things or elements are real in the past and in the future as they are in the present—but without enduring from one period to another.

In connection with this theory four arguments are quoted by Vasubandhu from the Exegetic Literature :

(1) Dharmatrāta's argument from the difference of kind or result--as a gold piece may be made into three different articles, yet each retains the real nature of gold.

(2) Ghoṣa's argument from the difference of mark or factor as the same service can be obtained from three different employees.

(3) Vasumitra's argument from the difference of function or position as in counting where the same numeral may be used to express three different values, for instance, the numeral one may be 1 or the index of 10 or of 100.

(4) Buddhadeva's argument from the difference of view or relation—as a woman can at once be daughter, wife and mother according to the relation she holds to her mother, her husband and her child.

Vasubandhu prefers Vasumitra's opinion (3) as the best of the four arguments though he was not entirely satisfied with it. According to this argument it is possible to give different values to each of the three periods of time—the future is the stage which has not come to function, the present is the actually functioning stage, and the past is the stage in which the function has come to an end. Owing to the differences in stage, the three periods are distinctly separate, and all things or elements in them are real entities. Hence the formula : "The

three periods (of time) are real and so is the entity of all elements at any instant." The tenet "Void of abiding self (but) reality of elements (*dharmas*)" indicates that selflessness is still the basic principle of the Sarvāstivāda School.

Nevertheless, the theory of Sarvāstivāda, according to Vasubandhu, is not found in the genuine discourses of the Buddha, but it is an innovation of the *Vibhāṣā* (Exegetic) Literature of the Abhidharma School. The opinion of the Abhidhārmikas is against the Sautrāntic School [13] which clings solely to the discourses (*Sūtrānta*) of the Buddha and maintains that only the present exists.[14] Accordingly Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharma-kośa* adopts the opinion of the Sautrāntic School, although professedly he follows the tenets of the Kashmiri Abhidhārmikas in general.

Although a strong realistic tendency is a deviation from the original teaching of momentariness or instantaneous being, it is not so conspicuous as it seems at first sight as long as the deviating party does not forsake the original formula : "No substance (*anātmā*), no duration (*anitya*) and no bliss (*duḥkha*) except Nirvāṇa." Consequently the real entity of the Sarvāstivāda School would mean a momentary existence or the continuity of separate momentary existences.

In Buddhism there is no actor apart from action, no percipient apart from perception ; therefore, no conscious subject behind consciousness. Mind is simply a transitory state of consciousness of an object. There is no permanent conscious subject, for no fabric of a body remains the same for two consecutive moments as the modern physicists say.[15] Buddhism contends that the same is true of the mind as well.

Seventy-five Elements or Dharmas of the Universe

All elements of the universe were minutely explained by Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharma-kośa*. The significant name

[13] See next chapter.
[14] Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. I, p. 111.
[15] *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 8.

(1) The Cause-Sub-cause which acts as Chief Cause (*Hetu-pratyaya*), there being no distinction between the Chief Cause and the secondary cause ; e.g., the water and the wind cause a wave ; (2) the Immediate Sub-cause (*Samanantara-pratyaya*), occurring in order, one after another—consequences coming immediately and equally after antecedents, as waves following one after another ; (3) the Objective Sub-cause (*Ālambana-pratyaya*), which has an object or environment as a concurring cause, as waves are conditioned by a basin, a pond, a river, the sea, or a boat ; (4) the Upheaving Sub-cause (*Adhipati-pratyaya*) which is the most powerful one to bring all the abiding causes to a culmination, as the last wave that upsets a boat in a storm.

Of the above, the first, the Cause-Sub-cause, which acts as chief cause, and the fourth, the Upheaving Sub-cause, are most important, and, in order to elucidate these two, the six Chief Causes have been taught. To speak more plainly, the Active Cause is itself the Upheaving Sub-cause while the other five causes are identical with the Cause-Sub-cause. We must understand from this that the terms Cause and Sub-cause are not strictly defined ones. They concur either as chief or secondary cause as the occasion requires.

These four Causes roughly correspond to the Aristotelian four causes : (1) the Cause-Sub-cause as the 'efficient cause' ; (2) the Immediate Sub-cause, the 'material cause' ; (3) the Objective or Referent Sub-cause, the 'formal cause' ; and (4) the Upheaving Sub-cause, the 'final cause.' A difference between the two groups of causes is that the Sub-cause in the Kusha School refers only to mental activities in which a similar function occurs immediately after another function has passed.

(4) RÉSUMÉ

Buddhism assumes no substance, no abiding individual self, no soul, no Creator, no root principle of the universe. But this by no means implies that all beings and things do not exist. They do not exist with a substratum or a permanent essence in

them, as people often think, but they do exist as causal relatives or combinations. All becomings, either personal or universal, originate from the principle of causation, and exist in causal combinations. The center of causation is one's own action, and the action will leave its latent energy which decides the ensuing existence. Accordingly, our past forms our present, and the present forms the future. This is the theory of self-creation.

We are, therefore, always creating and always changing. Men are ever floating on the waves of dynamic becoming called '*saṅsāra*,' the stream of life. Creating and changing ourselves as a whole, we go on. There should be no fear of the loss of identity, for our present self as a whole is an effect of the cause which we may call our past self ; similarly in the future it is impossible that our self will be lost since we are necessarily self-creating beings. It is unreasonable to seek an unchanging essence in an all-changing being.

The seed-elements are assumed to be four—earth (hardness), water (wetness), fire (warmth) and air (motion)—and all matters or forms are one or another combination of these four.

The formation of a personality and that of the universe are similar, both consisting of matter and mind, the difference being that in a personality mind is prevalent while in the universe matter is prevalent. Personality consists of five groups (*skandhas*)—Form (body), Perception, Conception, Volition and Consciousness (mind). The Form or body, again, consists of earth, water, fire and air. Man is therefore to be considered as one who has a form, perceives, conceives, wills and thinks. These are his actions (*karma*) which altogether form his personal existence which has no other reality. A man is a temporary entity, and is only living in the contiguity of momentariness. In order to change his personality for better, the cultivation of his knowledge and wisdom is necessary, because the perfection of wisdom is the perfection of personality—Enlightenment.

The Kusha School, though it states that all things exist, is quite different from general naïve materialism, because, according to its theory, all things are *dharmas* (elements)

which include mind as well as matter, all on an equal footing. It asserts the reality of all *dharmas* and yet it admits the theory of no substance, no duration and no bliss except Nirvāṇa.

V. THE JŌJITSU SCHOOL
(THE SATYASIDDHI SCHOOL)[1]
(Sarvaśūnyavāda, Sautrāntika)

(Nihilism : Non-*ens* School)
[Hīnayānistic]

(1) Preliminary

The Jōjitsu School is opposed to the Kusha School in that it asserts that nothing (matter or mind) exists at all. It is a Hīnayānistic Negativism or Nihilism and is called Jōjitsu in Japanese (Satyasiddhi—Completion of Truth) after the title of the work by Harivarman who lived in India (c. 250-350 A.D.) about a century before Vasubandhu.[2] The author says in his introductory note that he intended to elucidate the true purport of the sacred literature. From this we can infer that the title, 'Completion of Truth,' means the complete establishment of the truth propounded in the discourses of the Buddha himself.

Of the eighteen schools of Buddhism in India the Jōjitsu belongs to the Sautrāntika[3] School which adheres to the original sacred scripture against the realistic Sarvāstivāda School, some tenets of which are regarded by Vasubandhu as innovations of the Vaibhāṣikas or those who adhere to the *Abhidharma* doctrine. If the realistic doctrine can be called a deviation from original Buddhism, this Nihilistic doctrine should be considered as a reversion to it. This Jōjitsu School, in a way, can be considered to be an orthodox school of Buddhism, especially because it is much nearer than the Realistic School to the original teaching of the Buddha : "No substance (*anātmā*), no duration (*anitya*), and no bliss (*duḥkha*) except Nirvāṇa.

[1] Ch'êng-shih. [2] 420-500 A.D.
[3] The word *Sautrāntika* is derived from *Sutrānta* (Scripture).

(2) HISTORICAL

We know little or nothing of the history of this school from the Indian side. Perhaps there never was a separate school called Satyasiddhi in India. If there was a mother school to which Satyasiddhi belonged, it must have been one which adhered to the original discourse of the *sūtras*. The Sūtravādin, or Sautrāntikavādin School, is mentioned as the latest offshoot among the eighteen schools of Buddhism.[4] Though Harivarman's connection with that school is not known, several points of the doctrine set forth by him can be traced to that school. It seems to have had an influential position in India, for it is referred to directly or indirectly by Vasubandhu, who adopted, in fact, the tenets of the school in some of the important points of contention, e.g., the problem of time.

The text, *Satyasiddhi*,[5] was translated into Chinese as early as 411-412 A.D. by Kumārajīva who ordered some of his pupils to lecture on it. One of them, Sêng-jui by name, while discoursing on it discovered that the author, Harivarman, had refuted the tenets of the Abhidharma School on several occasions—more than seven times. Hence we can assume that the two schools (Realistic and Nihilistic) used to hold antagonistic positions at or before the author's time.

Among the pupils of Kumārajīva there were two or three lines of transmission of this school between 411 and 498 A.D., and several important commentaries—twelve in all—were compiled. Many hundred lectures were delivered on the text all over China, each repeated twenty, thirty, forty, or even ninety times in one and the same place.

At first the text was taken by some authorities to be Mahāyānistic, as by the three noted savants of the Liang dynasty (502-557), namely, Fa-yun,[6] Chih-tsang[7] and Sêng-min. By other authorities such as Chih-i,[8] Chi-tsang[9] and

[4] C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Kathā-vatthu*, pp. 3, 5. Vasily Pavlovich Vasil'ev, *History of Buddhism, Second Supplement*, p. 222.

[5] *Taishō*, No. 1464. [6] 476-529. [7] 458-522.

[8] Chih-kai, 531-597. [9] 549-623.

Ching-ying it was taken to be Hīnayānistic. It was Tao-hsüan,[10] a famous pupil of Hiuen-tsang,[11] who finally settled the question by pronouncing that it was Hīnayānistic and Sautrāntic, because the Jōjitsu School had not gone beyond the level and influence of the Vaibhāṣika School. However, he recognized that it had a certain tendency toward the Mahāyāna doctrine.

The Jōjitsu School was introduced into Japan by Ekwan, a learned priest of Kaoli, a state in Korea, who arrived at Hōryūji Temple in 625 A.D., and was appointed the first Buddhist prelate. Ever since that time the school has been studied in all Buddhist colleges and universities, but it was never recognized as an independent sect in Japan, always being treated as a subdivision of the Sanron School (The Three-Treatise School, Mahāyānistic (Negativism) which will be explained in Chapter VII.

(3) PHILOSOPHICAL

The doctrine of the Satyasiddhi or Jōjitsu School is generally understood to be the void of self (*pudgala-śūnyatā*) and of elements (*sarva-dharma-śūnyatā*). It is, therefore, the twofold void in contrast to the doctrine of the Realistic School (Kusha) which is the void of self (*pudgala-śūnyatā*) but the reality of elements (*dharma-tā*). Personality which is made up of five groups (Form, Perception, Conception, Volition and Consciousness) has no substratum and no individual self, just as an empty jar has no water or inner essence. Again, the universe consists of eighty-four elements, but all of them have no abiding reality at all, just as a jar itself has no permanent reality. Each of the five groups or the four great elements (earth, water, fire and air) of which the universe is composed has no permanent, changeless substance. They are only temporary names.

According to Harivarman, all beings should ultimately

[10] 596-667. [11] Hsüan-tsang, 596-664.

come to the truth of extinction (*nirodha-satya*), i.e., Nirvāṇa, which is the final extinction. Thus voidness alone is the ultimate truth. This does not mean that this school denies the common-sense or phenomenal temporary existence of all beings, for it admits the five categories of all elements which are subdivided into eighty-four *dharmas*—instead of the seventy-five *dharmas* of the Kusha School. We see from the following table that its contents are not very different from those of the table of the Realists :

The Eighty-four *Dharmas*[12]
of the Jōjitsu School

Created *Dharmas* — Non-created *Dharmas* (3) 1-3 k

Forms (14)	Mind (1)	Mental Functions (49)	Elements Neither Substantial Nor Mental (17)
1-10 k		General, 1-10 k	
11 earth		Good, 1-10 k	1-2 k
12 water		Foul, 1-6 k	3 (k3, 7) life
13 fire		Evil, 1-2 k	4-6 k
14 wind		Minor Foul, 1-10 k	7 (k8) birth
		Indeterminate	8 old age
		1-8 k	9-11 k
		9 dislike	12 death
		10 pleasure	13-15 (k12-14)
		11 sleep	16 mediocrity
			17 things with no manifestation (k1, 11)

The Satyasiddhi list of all the *dharmas* was certainly made after the model of the Realistic School. It is taught only in

[12] The letter 'k' indicates that the same items are also in the list of *Dharmas* given by the Sarvāstivāda or Realistic School in the previous chapter.

accordance with the worldly or common-sense or ordinary truth, for in the supreme truth there will be no *dharmas* at all. Of these, the five objects of sense (form, sound, smell, taste and touch) are regarded relatively while the four elements (earth, water, fire and air) and the five sense organs are considered more transitory.

Analyzing those five objects the school reduces them to molecules, and further reduces them to even finer atoms, and by thus repeating the process the school finally attains the finest element which has an entirely different nature from the first objects. Going one step further, the school attains the Void. Thus the nihilism of this school is a 'destructed' or abstracted Void. In other words, the non-entity asserted in this school is simply an abstraction from entity, or merely an antithetic Void as against existence. And this is not the synthetic Void or transcendental Void advanced by the Sanron School.[12] We may call it the doctrine of nothingness or non-*ens*, for it denies the existence of individual self and of all elements, matter and mind. To speak more clearly, mind (*citta*) is not abiding and mental functions (*caitasika*) have no independence ; those *dharmas* or elements which are neither matter nor mind (*citta-viprayukta*) are all temporary ; the uncreated elements (*asaṅskṛta*) are also unreal. The doctrine of Void is here complete and it can be taken as total nihilism (*sarva-śūnyatā*) if we follow the supreme truth. It is only from the point of view of worldly truth that they admit the existence of all things.

The doctrine of Void does not disavow the theory of the Chain of Causation, for our worldly existence is of causal combination, nor does it reject the principle of the stream of life (*saṅsāra*), for it is necessary to explain the state of dynamic becoming.

We have seen already that the Realistic School assumes that the three worlds of time are real and so are all *dharmas* at any instant. Against this assertion, the nihilistic Jōjitsu School contends that the present only is real while the past and

[12] See Chapter VII.

the future have no entity. The school asserts, as all the other Mahāyānistic schools do, the Void of all elements (*sarva-dharma-śūnyatā*) as well as the Void of self (*pudgala-śūnyatā*). In addition, it recognizes the two-fold truth—the supreme truth and worldly truth. These are chiefly the reasons for which this school had long been treated as Mahāyāna in China.

To realize Total-Voidness, one must do away with the three attachments—attachment to the temporary name, attachment to all elements and attachment to the Void itself. All beings and things, since they exist as the combination of causations, are given temporary names, because there is no way to designate their changing existence except by name. One must realize that it is useless to be attached to a self which is in truth only an appellation. One must first get rid of this attachment to one's temporary name. The elements are the basis on which the temporary name arises. To be rid of the attachment to the elements is to realize their voidness. When, as above, we have realized the voidness of both the individual self and of the elements, we may seem to have attained Total-Voidness, but in truth there still remains the consciousness of the Void, and we are liable to be attached to the idea of the Void as much as if it were something existent. This Void-consciousness can be removed when one enters into the Meditation of Extinction (*nirodha-samāpatti*) or into Perfect Nirvāṇa. The former is, as in an *arhat*, a state in which all passions have been done away with, and the latter is,[14] as in the case of the Buddha, the state in which all conditions of life, matter and mind, have been extinguished by virtue of Enlightenment as darkness is extinguished by light, because the Buddha had attained the state of perfect Nirvāṇa which is in itself devoid of any distinguishing qualities and he had transcended the 'four arguments.'

In India it is thought that there are only four arguments on any problem—'Yes,' 'No,' 'Either Yes or No according to the circumstance' and 'Neither Yes nor No, meaning out of the question.' The state in which the Buddha is said to have

[14] This is true especially in Mahāyāna.

transcended the four arguments is called the Buddha's True Body, and the body of the Buddha which appeared in this world is called his Transformed Body. This Transformed Body possessed all the attributes of a man in its forms, and followed all the ways of a human being, but he was a man of perfect knowledge and wisdom. In the elucidation of this point the Jōjitsu School relies upon the Mahāyāna *sūtras* such as the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, or the *Parinirvāṇa*. This was another reason why this school had long been thought to belong to Mahāyāna.

The way by which one attains the final state constitutes, as usual, the objects of learning—Precept (*śīla*), Meditation (*dhyāna*), and Wisdom (*prajñā*). The latter two are especially recommended to be seriously pursued.

VI. THE HOSSŌ SCHOOL
(THE MERE-IDEATION SCHOOL)[1]
(Vijñaptimātratā, Yogācāra)

(Idealism : Both *Ens* and Non-*ens* School)
[Quasi-Mahāyānistic]

(1) Preliminary

Hossō (*Dharma-lakṣaṇa*) means 'Characteristics of *Dharma*,' *Dharma* here denoting things substantial and mental (matter and minds), for the chief object of this school is to investigate the nature and qualities of all existences. The first founder of the school was Asaṅga[2]—an elder brother of Vasubandhu[3]—who was the author of the text *Yogācāra-bhūmi*.[4] In India the school was formerly called the Yogācāra, which means the practice of self-concentration.

Vasubandhu, when he was converted to Mahāyāna by his brother and succeeded in systematizing the philosophical views of the Yogācāra School, designated the tenet of the school as Vijñaptimātra (Mere Ideation), attributing the existence of all the outer world to inner ideation—in short, holding that nothing but ideation exists. As to ontology this school stands between the realistic and nihilistic schools, given above. It adheres neither to the doctrine that all things exist, because it takes the view that nothing outside the mind (mental activity) exists, nor to the doctrine that nothing exists, because it asserts that ideations do exist. It firmly adheres to the doctrine of the mean, neither going to the extreme of the theory of existence (*ens*) nor to that of non-existence (non-*ens*). This school can, therefore, be called the 'Ideal-realism' or

[1] Fa-hsiang
[2] c. 410-500 A.D.
[3] c. 420-500 A.D.
[4] *Taishō*, No. 1579.

'Ideation Theory.' The academic name of this school is Yuishiki (Wei-shih, Mere Ideation), or Vijñaptimātra (Ideation only), Shōzō-gaku, a Study of the Nature (*Svabhāva*) and Characteristics (*Lakṣaṇa*) of *dharmas* or elements.

The Middle Path which the Buddha himself taught against the two extremes of the hedonistic worldly life and the pessimistic ascetic life has now been promoted to the middle path between the two ontological views of the Hīnayāna schools.

For several reasons this school is considered to be still within the range of the formalistic, realistic Hīnayāna. It aims at an analysis of the phenomenal world, and is called Quasi-Mahāyāna. This we shall see later.

(2) HISTORICAL

The Shê-lun (Samparigraha) School, the forerunner of Fa-hsiang (Dharma-Lakṣaṇa or Hossō) School :

A representative work of Mahāyāna idealism named the *Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha* (Acceptance of the Great Vehicle)[5] was written by Asaṅga in the fifth century, annotated by Vasubandhu (420-500), and translated into Chinese in 531 by Buddhaśānta, in 563 by Paramārtha, and again by Hiuen-tsang during 648-649. Of these, the second, Paramārtha's translation, laid the foundation of the Shê-lun School in China.

Paramārtha,[6] a native of Ujjayinī, probably connected with Valabhī University, a center of Buddhist learning, came to China in 548, and between that time and 557 translated thirty-two texts. He is also said to have written more than forty works—altogether amounting to two hundred Chinese volumes. His chief object was to propagate the doctrine of the *Abhidharma-kośa* and the *Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha*. His literary and religious activity seems to have greatly influenced the Chinese mind of the time as is testified by the fact that he had many able pupils under him.

Paramārtha founded the realistic Kośa School, as we have

[5] *Taishō*, Nos. 1592-1597. [6] 499-569.

seen before, and the Saṃparigraha (Shê-lun) School. His activities can be compared only with Kumārajīva [7] who came before him and Hiuen-tsang [8] who came after him.

In studying the Shê-lun School we should know first the contents of the text, *Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha*. This text, with the commentary on it by Vasubandhu, is the first and the foremost comprehensive work which sets forth the doctrine of Mere Ideation and is a representative compendium of the Idealistic school. The text dwells chiefly on the ten special characteristics of Mahāyāna.

The contents are : 1. The store-consciousness (*Ālaya-vijñāna*), from which all elements are manifested ; 2. The theory of mere ideation—all elements have either the nature of interdependence, or that of imagination, or that of real truth ; 3. The attainment of the insight of mere ideation ; 4. The six perfections (*pāramitā*) ; 5. The ten stages (*bhūmi*) of the holy personages ; 6. Moral precepts (*śīla*) ; 7. Meditation (*samādhi*) ; 8. Perfect wisdom (*prajñā*) ; 9. The higher knowledge without discrimination ; 10. The threefold body of the Buddha.

When all things are reflected on our mind, our discriminating or imagining power is already at work. This is called our consciousness (*vijñāna*). Since the consciousness co-ordinating all reflected elements stores them, it is called the store-consciousness or ideation-store—I prefer to use the term ideation-store. The ideation-store itself is an existence of causal combination, and in it the pure and the tainted elements are causally combined or intermingled. When the ideation-store begins to move and descend to the everyday world, then we have the manifold existence that is only an imagined world. The ideation-store, which is the seed-consciousness, is the conscious center and the world manifested by ideation is its environment. It is only from the Buddha's Perfect Enlightenment that pure ideation flashes out.

This pure ideation can purify the tainted portion of the ideation-store and further develop its power of understanding.

[7] 344-413. [8] Hsüan-tsang, 596-664.

The world of imagination and the world of interdependence will be brought to the real truth (*pariniṣpanna*). This having been attained, the seed-store, as consciousness, will disappear altogether and ultimately will reach the state where there is no distinction between subject and object. The knowledge so gained has no discrimination (*avikalpa-jñāna*). This ultimate state is the Nirvāṇa of No Abode (*apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa*), that is to say, the attainment of perfect freedom—not being bound to one place.

According to this text the Buddha has a threefold body :

1. The *Dharma-* or Ideal-body whose nature is Principle and Wisdom ; 2. The *Saṃbhoga-*, Enjoyment- or Reward-body which appears only for the *Bodhisattva* ; 3. The Nirvāṇa- or Transformation-body which manifests itself for ordinary persons for their worship.

The *Ālaya* (store) is the consciousness in which the true and the false unite—practically the same as in the theory set forth in the *Awakening of Faith* [9] of Aśvaghoṣa. The Shê-lun School regards the *Ālaya*-store that has become pure and taintless as Thusness (*Tathatā*) and gives it a special name *Amala-vijñāna* (Taintless Consciousness). It is designated as the Ninth Consciousness. Accordingly the conscious organs recognized in this school founded by Paramārtha are as follows :

The Ninefold Consciousness :

The First Five Consciousnesses :

Visual consciousness
Auditory consciousness
Odor consciousness

[9] *Taishō*, No. 1666. English translation by Timothy Richard and Yang Wen-hwui : *The Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna Doctrine*, 1894 ; and by D. T. Suzuki : *Aśvaghoṣa's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*, Chicago, 1900.

Taste consciousness
Touch consciousness

The Four Central Consciousnesses :

Sixth, Sense-center Consciousness
Seventh, Thought-center Consciousness
Eighth, Ideation-store Consciousness
Ninth, Taintless Consciousness

The Shê-lun School in this state was replaced by the new Fa-hsiang (Hossō) School which was taught by Hiuen-tsang and founded by his pupil Ki (Kuei-chi), 632-682 A.D.

The Fa-hsiang (Dharma-lakṣaṇa, Hossō) School :

In India there seem to have been three lines of transmission of Yogācāra Idealism after the death of Vasubandhu. The first was the line of Dignāga[10] (fifth century), Agotra, and Dharmapāla[11] whose center of transmission was Nālandā University. Śīlabhadra of Nālandā and his Chinese pupil Hiuen-tsang belong to this line. The second was the line of Guṇamati and Sthiramati whose seat of transmission seems to have been Valabhī University ; Paramārtha the founder of the Shê-lun School in China belongs to it. The third was the line of Nanda, whose tenet was followed by Paramārtha, and Jayasena, who instructed Hiuen-tsang on certain questions. This last line of transmission did not flourish much in India and seems to have soon disappeared.

Hiuen-tsang, while still at home in China, heard lectures on the *Saṃparigraha* doctrine from more than seven different teachers. He was actually an earnest student of the Idealistic School. However, the opinions of his teachers varied greatly and, since he could not see which was the best to follow, he decided to go to India where he hoped to find an able instructor. In 629 he started from Ch'angan for India. In 629 he was

[10] Diṅnāga. [11] 439-507.

Each of the consciousnesses has four functional divisions of interdependent nature : 1. the objective or the seen portion (*lakṣaṇa-bhāga*), 2. the subjective or the seeing portion (*darśana-bhāga*), 3. the self-witness or the self-assuring portion (*sakśātkāri-bhāga*), 4. the rewitnessing of self-witness or the reassuring portion. The objective is a shadow image of an outer object reflected on the mind-face, and the subjective illumines, sees and experiences it. Now, who will know that the subject has seen the object or the shadow-image ? It is the mind itself that will see and acknowledge the subjective function. This function of cognition is called the Self-witness, without which no knowledge can be obtained. The Rewitnessing of Self-witness completes the mental faculty. These are the four mental functions.

For instance, a sheet of paper presented in mind is the objective, i.e., the shadow-image of it. The subjective is a measuring instrument to see its length and width. The self-witnessing function cognizes how long and how wide it is, according to that measure. The rewitnessing function recognizes the accuracy of that measurement. Because there is this mutual recognition, no other function is needed.

Among the Indian Yogācārins, Dignāga and Agotra do not admit the fourth rewitnessing function in addition to the other three functions. Dharmapāla and his successor, Śīlabhadra of Nālandā, hold the theory of four functional divisions, yet they think that either the three or the four will do, because the fourfold analysis is only a more minute division of three. Sthiramati, though he allows the existence of three functions, admits in fact only the one function of self-witness which is the function of the consciousness itself. According to him the subjective and the objective are by nature a false imagination arising from the consciousness itself, while the self-witness, i.e., the consciousness itself, is a causal existence and has reality. Nanda assumes the existence of only two functions, the subjective and the objective. The former is the main function and the latter originates from it, thus completing the theory of mere ideation.

The Hossō School regards both the three and the four

functions as orthodox. The objective portion of mental faculty is simply a shadow-image of the outer world and belongs to the subjective domain in the ordinary sense of the word. The original substance from which the shadow issues is quite separate from sense-data and thought-data.

The objects of the outer world (*viṣaya*) which throw shadows on the mind-face are of three species : 1. The object-domain of nature or immediate perception, i.e., the object that has the original substance and presents it as it is, just as the five objects of the senses—form, sound, smell, taste and touch —are perceived as they are. The first five sense-consciousnesses and the eighth, the store-consciousness, perceive the object in this way. 2. The object-domain of mere shadow or illusion. The shadow-image appears simply from one's own imagination and has no real existence. Of course, it has no original substance as a ghost which does not exist at all. Only the sixth, the sense-center, functions on it and imagines it to be. 3. The object-domain with the original substance. The object has an original substance and yet is not perceived as it is. When the seventh, the thought-center, looks at the subjective function of the eighth, the store-center, it considers that it is self or ego. The subjective function of the eighth, the store-center, has its original substance (entity) but it is not seen as it is by the seventh consciousness and is regarded to be self or an abiding ego, which is in reality an illusion since it is not self at all.

The theory of three species of the object-domain may have originated from Nālandā but the four-line memorial verse current in the school is probably of Chinese origin. It runs as follows :

1. The object of nature does not follow the mind (=subjective) . . . The subject may be good or evil but the object is always neutral.
2. The mere shadow only follows the seeing (=subjective) . . . The object is as the subject imagines.
3. The object with the original substance.
4. The character, seed, etc. are various as occasions require . . . The object has an original substance, but the subject does not see it as it is.

This four-line verse explains how the three species of the object-domain are related to the subjective function and the outer original substance. One may be puzzled in understanding how an idealism can have the so-called original substance. We should not forget that though it is an outer substance it is after all a thing manifested out of ideation.

The eighth, the *Ālaya*-consciousness itself, is not an unchangeable fixed substance (*dravya*) but is itself ever changing instantaneously (*kṣaṇika*) and repeatedly; and, being 'perfumed' or having impressions made upon it by cognition and action, it becomes habituated and efficient in manifestation. It is like a torrent of water which never stops at one place for two consecutive moments. It is only with reference to the continuity of the stream that we can speak of a river.

That efficiency or energy to produce a result is called a 'seed' as it is stored in a seed-bed and sprouts in time when a cause occasions it. From the stored seeds come the object-world corresponding to the manifestation of former cognition and action. Hence the stock saying:

> A seed (*bīja*) produces a manifestation (*samudācāra*);
> A manifestation perfumes a seed;
> The three elements (seed, manifestation and perfume) turning on and on;
> The cause and the effect at one and the same time.

And another saying:

> A seed produces a seed;
> The cause and the effect differing in time.

Thus the world of life and the world of 'vessel to live in' are instantaneously issued from the *Ālaya*-store and restored to it at once; this constitutes our daily life of error and illusion.

The old seeds latent in the eighth, the store-consciousness, exist from time immemorial. These are called the original seeds. The new seeds are perfumed afresh from time to time. These are called the newly perfumed seeds. The old and new

seeds together produce all manifestations of an error-stricken existence of life. Therefore, the eighth, the store-consciousness, may seem to be a false-natured or unreal one. However, it contains a taintless seed which is attached to it. As it grows up by self-culture, etc., it gradually subjugates the false nature of the eighth consciousness and as the result of this subjugation the life of error becomes a refined one until the highest stage of enlightenment is attained.

The Hossō School takes the nature (*svabhāva*) of *dharma* to be quite distinct from the specific character (*lakṣaṇa*) of *dharma*. Thus the principle is quite different from the fact, that is to say, the nature stands 'parallel' to the specific character, and so does the principle with facts. The parallel lines will never meet. The specific character or the fact, or, in other words, the manifestations of all elements, are the chief concern of this school. Hence the name *Dharma-lakṣaṇa* (*Hossō*). It is distinguished clearly from the schools which treat mainly the nature of *dharma* or the principle, i.e., the *Dharma-svabhāva* (*Hosshō*).

The Hossō School, therefore, does not admit that all beings have the Buddha-nature. The five species of men are all separate and distinct. There is a species of men who can never become a Buddha (*icchāntika*). Therefore, according to this school, the three vehicles (*Śrāvaka-yāna*—Teaching for Buddha's direct disciple, *Pratyeka-Buddha-yāna*—Teaching for Buddha-for-himself, *Bodhisattva-yāna*—Teaching for the would-be Buddha) are real, because they belong to the actual world, i.e., they correspond to the conditions of the actual world of men. The *Ekayāna* (One Vehicle leading to Buddhahood) is for 'convenience' and is temporary. Exactly the opposite holds good in other schools. Further, they do not recognize the identification of the nature with the specific character of *dharmas*. So, Thusness (*Tathatā*) as the nature of all *dharmas* is in no way connected with the specific character of *dharmas*. The thing as in itself is separate forever from the thing for us. Thusness or Suchness will never be perfumed or influenced by the actual life. Noumenon has no relation at all with phenomenon. This school rejects the theory that Thus-

ness receives any perfume or influence and that it manifests itself as a causal consequence. It firmly holds that Thusness lies ever in a static congelation and will never become dynamic in the sphere of *dharmas.*

The schools which lay importance on the nature (*svabhāva*) are attacked mercilessly by this Hossō School. Such a doctrine as set forth in the *Awakening of Faith* that Thusness manifests itself according to a cause either pure or tainted is the main object of their rigorous attack. But this is only the passive side of the argument as to the purport of Thusness. We will study the positive side of the argument toward the end of the chapter.

The Shê-lun School takes a somewhat different attitude on this point.[22] In the *Awakening of Faith* the author who is said to be Aśvaghoṣa starts from Thusness which is somehow tainted by ignorance and takes the store-consciousness to be of a mixed nature, true and false, while the Hossō School starts from the world of phenomena that originates from the ideation-store, the eighth consciousness being of an unreal, false nature. The store-consciousness may in some way have a taintless seed attached to it and eventually develop it to enlightenment. The Shê-lun School, siding with the author of the *Awakening of Faith*, goes a step further and admits the existence of a ninth taintless consciousness (*amala-vijñāna*). Thus all seem to assume the existence of two elements, true and false, in the store-consciousness. But still the Hossō School differs from the rest in treating Thusness as the nature and the store-consciousness as the characteristic of *dharmas.* Thusness is the ultimate entity (*pariniṣpanna*) while the store-consciousness is of the quality dependent on another, i.e., cause (*paratantra*).

Pariniṣpanna, paratantra and *parikalpita* are all called *lakṣaṇa* in Sanskrit, but in the case of *pariniṣpanna* it is not *lakṣaṇa* but is *alakṣaṇa*—'Bereft of specific character,' i.e., *Svabhāva.*

[22] See above, section (2), Historical.

THE ONE HUNDRED ELEMENTS IN FIVE CATEGORIES

The Hossō School, though idealistic, takes the model of the analytical method used in the Realistic and Nihilistic Schools, and classifies the world of becoming into five categories which are subdivided into one hundred *dharmas*. This list, facing p. 96, is much more minute than the other tables.

A special point in the table is that mind is divided into eight consciousnesses, each being a separate reality. No other school of Buddhism has such a doctrine. In addition to the first five mental faculties (eye-, ear-, nose-, tongue-, skin-senses or consciousnesses) there are the sixth, the sense-center, a general perceiving organ or conscious mind, the seventh, the thought-center or the self-conscious mind, and the eighth, the store-center or store-consciousness. The last two are called *Manas* (thought) and *Ālaya* (store-consciousness).

Among these eight consciousnesses the former six constitute the sense-consciousness (*Vijñāna*), the seventh is thought (*Manas*) and the eighth is mind (*Citta*). To put it more plainly, the first five consciousnesses are simply the senses; the sixth, the sense-center, forms conceptions out of the perceptions obtained from the outside; the seventh, the thought-center, thinks, wills and reasons on a self-centered basis; the eighth, the store-center, stores seeds, i.e., keeps efficiency or energy for all manifestations. The sixth, the seventh and the eighth always act on one another, for the sixth is the general center of perception and cognition inwardly which acts outwardly on the basis of the thought-center which in turn acts on the basis of the all-storing center. The *Manas* is responsible for self-consciousness, self-interest, or selfish motives. The subjective function of the eighth is seen and regarded by the seventh as self (*ātman*) though in reality there is no such thing as self. This false idea pollutes all thoughts and gives rise to an idea of individual or personal ego or soul.

According to the Buddhist idea, all things are 'born from mind' (*manoja*) and 'consist of mind' (*manomaya*), and especially in the idealistic theory what we generally call existence proceeds from consciousness. Accordingly, everything that

action is nothing but a result of ideation and the causation of an idealistic school ought to be built on the assumption of mind-action as the origin of all *dharmas.*

Thus Hossō idealism is seen to be an elucidation of the causation theory of ideation.

VII. THE SANRON SCHOOL
(THE THREE-TREATISE SCHOOL)[1]
(Sarvaśūnyavāda, Mādhyamika)

(Negativism : *Neither* Ens *nor* *Non*-ens *School*)
[Quasi-Mahāyānistic]

(1) PRELIMINARY

The Indian name of the Mahāyānistic Negativism is Mādhyamika, the 'doctrine of the Middle Path,' or Śūnyatāvāda, the 'Theory of Negativity' or 'Relativity.' In China and Japan this school is known by the appellation of San-lun or Sanron, the 'Three Treatises.' There are three fundamental texts which are devoted to the Doctrine of the Middle Path by seriously refuting the wrong views of Brahmanism, Hīnayāna, and Mahāyāna schools other than the Sanron School. Of these, the first text is the *Mādhyamika Śāstra*,[2] by Nāgārjuna.[3] Fortunately the Sanskrit text of it has been preserved.[4] It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva.[5] In a treatise of 400 verses Nāgārjuna refutes certain wrong views of Hīnayāna or of general philosophers thereby rejecting all realistic and pluralistic ideas and indirectly establishing his monistic doctrine.

The second text is the *Dvādaśa-dvāra*, the '*Twelve Gates*,'[6] of Nāgārjuna, which is not known in Sanskrit but is preserved in a Chinese translation. It has twelve parts or chapters in

[1] San-lun.

[2] *Taishō*, No. 1564. German translation by Max Walleser : *Die Mittlere Lehre des Nāgārjuna*, Heidelberg, 1912, English translation of chapters 1 and 25 with Candrakirti's commentary by Th. Stcherbatsky : *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*. See also Walleser's *Die Mittlere Lehre, nach der tibetischen version*, Heidelberg, 1911.

[3] 100-200 A.D.

[4] See Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Leningrad, 1927, p. 65.

[5] 409 A.D. [6] *Taishō*, No. 1568.

all, and is devoted chiefly to correcting the errors of the Mahāyānists themselves. The third text is the *Sata Sāstra*, the *'One Hundred Verse Treatise'*[7] of Āryadeva, a pupil of Nāgārjuna. This treatise of Āryadeva is mainly a refutation of the heretical views of Brahmanism.

As the Sanron School is much inclined to be negativistic idealism, there arose the more positive Shiron School (Shih-lun, Four-Treatise School) which adds a fourth text by Nāgārjuna, namely, the *Prajñāpāramitā Sāstra*[8] in which we see that he establishes his monistic view much more affirmatively than in any other text. But, all being from Nāgārjuna's hand, the general trend of metaphysical argument is much the same. As the Mādhyamika system in India had become a pure negative ontology, the Yogācāra system of Asaṅga[9] and Vasubandhu[10] came forward to restore Buddhism to the original more positive idealism. Yogācāra idealism, however, ended in a causation theory of the ideation-store, and was ontologically very passive.

In China many renowned scholars appeared and made great strides in the idealistic philosophy; they were by no means inferior to their contemporary Indian authors. As the Sanron School carried the day, the Shiron School gave way to it and soon disappeared from the arena of *Sūnyatā* controversy.

The efforts of the Sanron School are centered on the refutation of all positive and affiirmative views of other schools which have no foundation of dialectical negation. The refutation is directed first against the wrong views of heretics, secondly against the one-sided views of Hīnayāna, and thirdly against the dogmatic views positively set forth by the Mahāyānistic authors. The ideal of the Sanron School seems to have been *Niṣprapañca*, the 'inexplicable in speech and unrealizable in thought.' The basis of all arguments is what we call the 'Four Points of Argumentation': 1. *ens* (*sat*), 2. non-

[7] *Taishō*. No. 1569. English translation by Giuseppe Tucci: *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIX, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1929, pp. 1-89.

[8] *Taishō*. No. 1509. [9] c. 410-500 A.D. [10] c. 420-500 A.D.

ens (*asat*), 3. either *ens* or non-*ens*. 4. neither *ens* nor non-*ens*. If we are to answer a question put to us, we have no other way to answer than by one or more of these Four Points of Argumentation. If we express our answer it must be: 1. Yes; or 2. No; or 3. Either yes or no according to circumstances; or 4. Neither yes nor no, i.e., having nothing to do with the question or no use answering.

Without understanding the above fundamental ideal underlying their arguments, it is by no means easy to follow the negativistic trend of this Sanron School.

(2) HISTORICAL

Prof. Stcherbatsky has indicated the following periods in the development of the Mahāyāna philosophy with special reference to Mādhyamika:

1. First Century A.D. The rise of Mahāyāna *Ālaya-vijñāna* (Store-consciousness) and *Tathatā* (Thusness), both admitted by Aśvaghoṣa.

2. Second Century A.D. The theory of universal relativity (*Śūnyatā*) formulated by Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva.

3. Third and Fourth Centuries. A gap.

4. Fifth Century. The idealistic interpretation of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.

5. Sixth Century. A split between the idealistic and relativistic schools. Sthiramati and Dignāga representing the former, and Buddhapālita and Bhāvāviveka the latter.

6. Seventh Century. Final establishment of the Mādhyamika system in its extreme form by Candrakīrti.

The above is Prof. Stcherbatsky's list, but the gap of the third and the fourth centuries may be filled by bringing in Sāramati and Maitreya. Maitreya is a direct or indirect teacher of Asaṅga and his historicity cannot be doubted, although, because of mysterious legends surrounding him, some scholars are inclined to regard him as an imaginary person. We must reserve this problem for future studies. In any case the Indian Śūnyavāda with its idealistic reaction, Vijñānavāda,

exhibited a great flourishing of Buddhist philosophy and the memory of its intellectual activity is forever preserved in the history of Indian philosophy.[11]

The history of the Sanron School begins in China with the advent of the famous Kumārajīva of Kucca;[12] the line of transmission is said to have been as follows:

1. Fifth Century A.D. Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamika Śāstra* was translated and expounded by Kumārajīva and handed down to his pupils Tao-shêng, T'an-chi and Sêng-lang. Sêng-lang, a distinguished successor, finally separated the Sanron School clearly from the Jōjitsu School,[13] the Hīnayānistic Nihilism, which we have studied before. The Sanron School owes its real foundation to Sêng-lang's work.

2. Sixth Century. Fa-lang[14] was a great leader who had twenty-five pupils under him. Chi-tsang[15] was the outstanding member of this group. His father had entered the order and often took him to hear lectures by Paramārtha, the then flourishing Indian teacher in China. Chi-tsang himself joined the order under Fa-lang and received a special training from him. When nineteen years of age, he lectured and recapitulated his teacher's lectures without any mistakes, to the great astonishment of the listeners. He lived in the Chia-hsiang monastery and is known by the name Chia-hsiang Tashih (great master of Chia-hsiang).

Chi-tsang wrote a commentary on the three Treatises, a compendium of the Sanron system, a work on Mahāyāna, and a short treatise on the twofold truth. Further, he compiled seven different works on the 'Lotus' text, two works each on the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* and altogether one hundred and twenty Chinese volumes (*chüans*) of commentaries on the *Avataṁsaka* (Wreath), the *Śrīmalā*, the *Vimala-kīrti*, the larger *Sukhāvatī*, the *Amitayur-dhyāna*, the *Vajracchedikā*, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, the *Maitreya-Sūtra*, the *Book on Benevolent King*, etc. His literary activity,

[11] Mādhyamikas, Yogācāras and Vaibhāśikas are mentioned in the *Sūtra*.

[12] 409 A.D. [13] Satyasiddhi. [14] 507-581. [15] 549-623.

indicating his wide reading and exhaustive references, is unparalleled in his age or before, and it is remarkable that all was done in a period of continuous warfare between the Ch'ên and the Sui dynasties.

3. Seventh Century. Chi-tsang's Korean pupil, Ekwan (Hui-kuan) from Kauli, a state in Korea, came to Japan in 625 and taught the Sanron doctrine at the monastery Gwangōji in Nara. This is the first transmission of the school to Japan. The second transmission was by Chizō, a pupil of Ekwan. The third transmission was by Dōji, a pupil of Yüan-k'ang,[16] the author of a commentary on the three *Treatises*.

In China the Sanron School did not flourish after the rise of the Hossō School of the famous Hiuen-tsang[17] and his pupil Ki.[18] However, an Indian teacher, Sūryaprabhāsa, came to China in 679 and taught the Sanron to Hsien-shou, the author of a work on the *Twelve Gates* of Nāgārjuna. His line of transmission is called the New Sanron School to distinguish it from the Old Sanron School, a name given to that system from Kumārajīva to Chi-tsang during 409-623 A.D.

In Japan the school was never an independent institution, but the study of its doctrine has been ardently continued even to the present time because it is indispensable for a student of Buddhism as one of the chief objects of Buddhist learning and a strong weapon of dialectic argument, as well as the theoretical basis underlying many of the more positive and active schools of Buddhism in Japan today.

(3) PHILOSOPHICAL

The teaching of the Sanron School has three aspects : 1. the refutation of erroneous views and the elucidation of right views ; 2. the distinction between worldly truth and the higher truth ; 3. the Middle Path (*Madhyama-pratipād*) of the Eightfold Negation.

What the school aims at is the absolute *Śūnyatā*, i.e.,

[16] c. 649 A.D. [17] Hsüan-tsang. 596-664. [18] K'uei-chi, 632-682.

nothing 'acquirable' (*aprāptavya-śūnyatā*), i.e., the right view of 'non-acquisition' (*aprāpti-tva*). Generally speaking, when one error is rejected by refutation, another view is grasped and held as right and as a natural outcome of it. In the case of this school, however, a selection is also an attachment to or an acquisition of one view and is therefore to be rejected. The refutation itself of a wrong view ought to be, at the same time, the elucidation of a right view. That is to say, refutation is identical with elucidation, for there is to be nothing acquired. This is one of the peculiarities of the school.

However, the two terms are retained separately for practical purposes, since refutation is necessary to save all beings who are drowned in the sea of attachment while elucidation is also important in order to propagate the teaching of the Buddha.

Such refutation is to be complete. First, views based on acquisition are all refuted. Also, views such as the *ātman* (self) theory of the Brahmanic philosophers, the pluralistic doctrines of the Buddhist Abhidharma schools (Vaibhāṣika, Kośa, etc.) and the dogmatic principles of Mahāyāna teachers are never passed without a detailed refutation. The Realistic ('All exists') and the Nihilistic ('Nothing exists') are equally condemned.

Among the Chinese Buddhistic views, Hui-kuan's view that divides the teachings of the Buddha into two teachings and five periods, Chi-tsang's view of unity of the two truths, worldly and higher, and Sêng-chao's [19] as well as Fa-yün's [20] view of diversity of the two truths are all to be mercilessly attacked if they are too much adhered to. On the positive side, however, this school accepts the right man and the right teaching. Nāgārjuna is regarded as the right personage because of the Buddha's prophesy concerning his appearance.[21] The right teaching is the Middle Path devoid of name and character where no speech or thought can reach. It transcends all the points of dispute such as 'the four forms of argument and the

[19] 384-414. [20] 467-529

[21] In the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.

hundred negations,' thus even going further than Yājñavalkya's famous theory of '*neti, neti*' (not this! not this!) in the Upaniṣads.[22]

The truth can be attained only by negation or refutation of wrong views within and without Buddhism and of errors of both the Great and Small Vehicles. When retaining wrong views or error, one will be blind to reason. How can a blind man get a right view without which the two extremes can never be avoided? The end of verbal refutation is the dawn of the Middle Path. Refutation—and refutation only—can lead to the ultimate truth.

The Middle Path, which is devoid of name and character, cannot be named and characterized, yet we are forced to designate it somehow for the sake of distinction. Therefore it is called 'the right (as) elucidated.'

Two aspects of right can be assumed: right in substance and right in function. The right in substance is the transcendental truth which is beyond both the higher and the worldly truths, while the right in function is the twofold truth, the higher and the worldly. In the *Mādhyamika Śāstra* it is said that the Buddhas of the past proclaimed their teachings to the people by means of the twofold truth. It was by the worldly truth (*saṃvṛti-satya*) that the Buddha preached that all elements have come into being through causation; but it is by the higher truth (*paramārtha-satya*) that all elements are of universal relativity (*sarva-śūnyatā*) or Void. After all, the twofold truth is proclaimed in order to lead people to a right way.

For those who are attached to Nihilism the theory of existence is taught in the way of the worldly truth, and for those who are attached to Realism the doctrine of non-existence is proclaimed in the way of the higher truth in order to teach them the nameless and characterless state which is 'right in substance.'

Though we may speak of existence, it is temporary and not fixed. Even non-existence (Void) is temporary and not

[22] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II. 3, 6; III. 9, 26; IV. 4, 22; IV. 6, 15.

fixed. So there is neither a real existence nor a real Void. Being or non-being is only an outcome of causal relation and, therefore, unreal. Thus the ideal of the two extremes of being and non-being is removed. Therefore, when we deal with the worldly truth, the phenomenal world can be assumed without disturbing the noumenal state. When we deal with the higher truth, the noumenal state can be attained without stirring the world of mere name. Non-existence is at the same time existence, and existence in turn is non-existence. Form or matter is at the same time the Void, and the Void is at the same time form or matter.

Thus the noumenon of all *dharmas* is without specific character.

It may be seen, therefore, that the twofold truth is taught only for the sake of convenience in instruction. The present Sanron School regards the theory of twofold truth to be word-teaching, i.e., teaching for an explicatory purpose, while other Mahāyānists take it to be the principle-teaching, i.e., the twofold truth itself is the principle which the Buddha has taught. The question of differences is : whether the truth is the means or the object. The Sanron School takes it to be the means. This is another peculiarity of the school.

The theory of the eightfold negation is of similar purport. It is set forth by Nāgārjuna in his dedicatory verse of the *Mādhyamika Sāstra*, which runs as follows :

"The perfect Buddha,
The foremost of all teachers I salute.
He has proclaimed
The principle of (universal) relativity.
'Tis like Blissful (Nirvāṇa).
Quiescence of plurality.
There nothing disappears,
Nor anything appears,
Nothing has an end,
Nor is there anything eternal,
Nothing is identical (with itself),
Nor is there anything differentiated.

Nothing moves,
Neither hither nor thither."[23]

This eightfold negation is formulated in Chinese as follows.

No production
No extinction
No annihilation
No permanence
No unity
No diversity
No coming
No departure

Thus all specific features of becoming are denied. The fact that there are just eight negations has no special purport; this is meant to be a wholesale negation. It may be taken as a crosswise sweeping away of all eight errors attached to the world of becoming, or a reciprocal rejection of the four pairs of one-sided views, or a lengthwise general thrusting aside of the errors one after the other—for instance, refuting the idea of appearing (birth) by the idea of disappearance; the idea of disappearance by the idea of motion hither; this idea of motion hither by the idea of motion thither; this last idea by the idea of permanence; permanence by destruction (end); destruction by unity; unity by diversity; diversity by appearance; and so on.

In this way all discriminations of oneself and another or this and that are done away with. Therefore a refutation of a wrong or one-sided view is at the same time an elucidation of a right view. When right is opposed to wrong, it is an antithetic right, i.e., right as opposed to wrong. When wrong is utterly refuted, there will be the right devoid of antithesis, i.e., transcendental right. When the idea of right or wrong is altogether thrown aside, there will be the absolute right, i.e., the truth.

[23] Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 69

Right is the middle. The middle versus two extremes is antithetic middle or relative middle. The middle, after the two extremes have been totally refuted, is the middle devoid of extremes. When the idea of two extremes is removed altogether, it is the absolute middle. Thus the absolute right is the absolute middle.

When the absolute middle condescends to lead people at large, it becomes a temporary middle or truth. We have thus the fourfold Middle Path.

Out of a practical necessity to guide people another gradation theory is adopted. This gradation theory will be explained in four stages below :

1. When the theory of being is opposed to the theory of non-being, the former is regarded as the worldly truth and the latter the higher truth.
2. When the theories of being and non-being are opposed to those of neither being nor non-being, the former are regarded as the worldly truth and the latter the higher truth.
3. If the four opposed theories just mentioned together become the worldly truth, the yet higher views denying them all will be regarded as the higher truth.
4. If the theories expressed in the last stage become the worldly truth, the denial of them all will be the higher truth.

Thus, however high we proceed, if we adhere to one view or a group of views, we shall meet their denial again and again. Negation alone can lead us to the door of the absolute truth. In short, what we are driving at is the Principle of Non-acquisition (*aprāptitva*) which is attained by the doctrine of universal negation expounded crosswise by the *eightfold negation* and lengthwise by the *four stages of the twofold truth*. It is in fact an infinite negation until the tinge of worldly truth is utterly washed off. Therefore, the ultimate truth thus arrived at by dialectical method is called either the Middle Path of the Eightfold Negation or the Middle Path of the Twofold Truth.

Further, the Middle Path of the Twofold Truth is ex-

pounded in several complicated ways. If one maintains the theory of the real production and the real extinction of the phenomenal world, it is called the one-sided worldly truth. If, on the other hand, one adheres to the theory of the non-production and non-extinction of the phenomenal world, it is called the one-sided higher truth. If one sees that there is a temporary production and a temporary extinction of phenomenon, it is the middle path of worldly truth. If one sees that there is neither temporary production nor temporary extinction, it is the middle path of the higher truth. If one considers that there is neither production-and-extinction nor non-production-and-non-extinction, it is the middle path elucidated by the union of both popular and higher truths.

The above are called *the five terms and the three middle paths*. It is the 'true state of Middle Path.'

The Sanron School divides the sacred teaching into two Piṭakas—Śrāvaka and Bodhisattva, i.e., smaller and larger vehicles (Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna). The sacred teaching is also divided into three *dharma-cakra* (the wheels of the law): 1. the root wheel is the *Avataṅsaka* (Wreath); 2. the branch wheel is all Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts; 3. the wheel that contracts all the branches so as to bring them back to the root, i.e., the 'Lotus.'

The root wheel was first preached for *Bodhisattvas* soon after the Buddha's Enlightenment. It was the truth gained by the Buddha in his Enlightenment, but this Buddha-*yāna* was too profound for people to understand. Then the Buddha began to propound the three *yānas* (*śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha* and *bodhisattva*) to lead up to the Buddha-*yāna*.

'*Śūnya*' negatively means 'Void,' but positively 'relative,' i.e., 'devoid of independent reality' or 'devoid of specific character.' Thus *Śūnyatā* is non-entity and at the same time 'relativity,' i.e., the entity only as in causal relation. The idea of relativity seems to be strongly presented in the Indian Mādhyamika School. In the Chinese San-lun School, too, we have the term 'causal union' as a synonym of the Middle Path, absence of nature (*svabhāva-abhāva*), *Dharma* nature (*Dharma-svabhāva*) and Void. These words doubtless con-

vey a similar idea, for it is well known that the causal origination is called *Śūnyatā*, but I cannot definitely state whether the Chinese San-lun teachers went so far as to treat casual relation (*pratitya-samutpāda*) as an exact synonym of *Śūnyatā* or not. However, it is certain that the Chinese did not make much of the idea of relativity, because the Chinese equivalent of *Śūnyatā*, *K'ung*, connotes all the necessary phases of meaning : first, Void in the sense of antithesis of being, second, the state of being devoid of specific character (*svabhāva śūnyatā*, *svalakṣaṇa-abhāva*) ; third, Void in the highest sense, or transcendental Void, i.e., all oppositions synthesized, (*paramārtha-śūnyatā*) ; fourth, the absolute Void (*atyanta-śūnyatā*) ; and several others.

The word 'Void' is not entirely fitting and is often misleading, yet, if we look for another word, there will be none better. It is, after all, an idea dialectically established. It is nameless (*akhyāti*) and characterless (*alakṣaṇa*). It is simply the negation of an independent reality or the negation of specific character. Besides the negation there is nothing else. The Sanron system is on that account a negativism, the theory of negation. All things are devoid of independent reality, that is, they are only of relative existence, or relativity in the sense of what is ultimately unreal but phenomenally real.

(4) RÉSUMÉ

The object of negativism is the realization of perfect wisdom. Wisdom here is opposed to all partial knowledge, or rather is inclusive of all partial knowledge. Thus, by not clinging to the knowledge of special things, one can attain perfect wisdom ; and by not adhering to one thing or another, one can attain perfect freedom. Perfect emptiness or Void comprehends all things. Emptiness is different from space, for space is what anything can occupy. The doctrine of Void of this school is in reality Non-Void, i.e., not one-sided, abstracted Void, because it can comprehend anything whatever.

Denial or refutation is only the method of obtaining the

white-paper state instead of the colored-paper state which we generally possess, cling to and cannot get rid of. Again, there is the principle of non-acquisition.

In fine, the training by negation means having no partial knowledge, dwelling in no special view, holding on to no abstracted Void, adhering to no special attainment, assuming no special characteristics and expecting no special interest or any special merit.

VIII. THE KEGON SCHOOL (AVATAṄSAKA, THE 'WREATH' SCHOOL)[1]

(Totalism)
[Mahāyānistic]

(1) PRELIMINARY

Kegon means 'flower-ornament' and is considered a translation of the Sanskrit term '*Avataṅsaka*' denoting a wreath or garland. It is the name of a *Sūtra* in which the mystic doctrine of the Buddha Mahāvairocana[2] is minutely described. The scripture is said to have been preached by the Buddha soon after his Enlightenment, but none of those listening to him could understand a word of it as if they were deaf and dumb. Therefore he began anew to preach the easy four Āgamas (discourses) and other doctrines.

What he preached first was what he had realized in his Enlightenment. The truth he had conceived was proclaimed exactly as it was. An advanced personage such as a *Bodhisattva* (saintly person) might have understood him, but an ordinary person could not grasp his ideas at all.

The *Avataṅsaka Sūtra*[3] is represented in Chinese by three recensions, in eighty, sixty, and forty Chinese volumes. Of the first two we do not possess their Sanskrit original. For the last, the forty-volume text, we have its original which is called *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*, now published in Japan.[4]

In the text, a pilgrimage undertaken by the youth Sudhana to visit fifty-three worthies, religious and secular, is described. The object of the pilgrimage was to realize the principle of *Dharma-dhātu* (Realm of Principle or Elements).

In India the Avataṅsaka School, as an independent school,

[1] Hua-yen. [2] To be described in Chapter X.
[3] *Taishō*, Nos. 278, 279 and 293.
[4] By H. Izumi of the Otani University, Kyoto.

is unknown. However, the story of Sudhana's pilgrimage is minutely told in the *Divya-avadāna*, and his journey is depicted in detailed sculptures in Java.

In the *Sūtra* it is stated that the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is living on the Ch'ingliang Mountain in China, and is proclaiming the law at all times. This Ch'ingliang Mountain is identified with the Wut'ai Mountain of China. The name Wut'ai (five heights) itself seems to indicate Pañca-śikha (five top-knots), a name of Mañjuśrī. The great Avataṅsaka Monastery of that mountain is the shrine sacred to that Bodhisattva. Such a belief in India as well as in China seems to go back to the fifth century A.D. or still earlier.

In 477 A.D. an Imperial prince went up that mountain and burned himself to death as a sign of his ardent desire to meet the Bodhisattva. Later, in 735 A.D., an Indian priest, Bodhisena, with a Malay-Indian musician named Fa-triet, came to China and went up there to see Mañjuśrī. They passed on to Japan in search of that saint when they were told that he was not on the mountain then but was sojourning in the Far East. At their arrival in Ōsaka they were received by Gyōgi Bosatsu (= *Bodhisattva*), a learned Japanese priest who is generally called Bosatsu because Bodhisena and Fa-triet took him to be Mañjuśrī himself. The two men were given some Imperial grants and were happily settled in Nara. Bodhisena, as the officiating priest, performed the dedication ceremony of the Grand Buddha of Nara and shared the honor of becoming one of the founders of the Tōdaiji Monastery.* He taught the 'Wreath' doctrine while in the Daianji Monastery, Nara.

The name 'Manch'u' of the last dynasty of China is said to have been an abbreviation of Mañjuśrī. In the letters from Nepal to the Chinese court the Chinese emperors are addressed 'Śrī, Śrī, Śrī Mañjuśrī.' The official name of the dynasty was Ch'ing which itself is said to have been taken from the designation of Ch'ingliang Mountain. Even now Wut'ai

* There were four among the founders; see section 2

Mountain is one of the most sacred spots of all the places connected with Buddhism in China.

(2) Historical

Prior to the Kegon School there was in China a school named Ti-lun which was founded on Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Daśa-bhūmi Sūtra*. The text was translated into Chinese in 508-512 A.D. by Bodhiruci,[6] Ratnamati[7] and Buddhaśānta,[8] all from India.

There appeared in time a split in the Ti-lun School. Tao-ch'ung, a pupil of Bodhiruci, lived in the north district of Lo-yang and exercised a great influence on the people, while Hui-kuang,[9] a pupil of Ratnamati, lived in the south district of the capital and was equally influential in his religious activities. The line of the former was called 'the Branch of the Northern Path,' and that of the latter 'the Branch of the Southern Path.'

As the *Daśa-bhūmi Sūtra* was annotated by Vasubandhu,[10] the *Ālaya* (store) Consciousness as well as the first six sense-consciousnesses were expounded in it. The relation between these consciousnesses and their connection with Thusness (*Tathatā*) or the so-called 'Matrix of Tathāgata' (Thuscome) were not expressly taught. On this account the two Indian teachers differed from each other in their opinions, and the two lines went so far as to take a separate way.

The Ti-lun (Daśa-bhūmi) School

Northern Path	Southern Path
Tao-ch'ung, a pupil of Bodhiruci.	Hui-kuang, a pupil of Ratnamati.
Ālaya-consciousness is unreal (false) and separate from Thusness.	*Ālaya*-consciousness is real (true) and identical with Thusness.
	Kegon School

[6] 508-515. [7] 508. [8] 520-539. [9] 468-537. [10] 420-500 A.D.

At the outset the Northern Path seemed to have flourished, as the founder Tao-ch'ung is said to have had more than ten thousand pupils, he himself having been honored as one of the six Great Virtuous Men of the Ch'ên dynasty and later as one of the ten Great Virtuous Men of the Sui dynasty. But for some reason his successors did not succeed so well.

In the Southern Path, Hui-kuang seemed to have been more a scholar than a propagandist. He was well versed in Sanskrit, having studied under Buddhabhadra and Ratnamati, and understood the points of dispute as to the *Daśa-bhūmi* text. He had ten able pupils among whom Fa-shang (495-580) was the most prominent. The literary activity of his pupils also was worthy of admiration. However, when Tu-shun, the nominal founder of the Kegon School, made his appearance on the scene, the best workers of this line were all attracted around him. Or, we can say at best the Ti-lun School was finally united with the new rising school of the Hua-yen (Kegon, Avataṁsaka, 'Wreath') philosophy.

The Kegon School, having absorbed the Ti-lun School, opened a flourishing period of Chinese Buddhism. The foundation-stone of the Kegon doctrine was laid once and for all by the famous Tu-shun. His priestly name was Fa-shun, but as his family name was Tu, people generally called him Tu-shun. He was famous as a miracle-worker, and Emperor T'ai-tsung of T'ang invited him to his palace and gave him the title of 'the Venerable Imperial Heart.' He was believed to be an incarnation of Mañjuśrī.

His able pupil, Chih-yen (602-668), the succeeding patriarch of the school, received from him all the culture of contemplation. He wrote several important works on the basis of his teacher's instructions. One of his pupils, I-hsiang (625-702) from Simla, a state of Korea, returned home in 668 and founded the first Kegon School in Korea. But the third patriarch, Fa-tsang (643-712), was the real founder of this school, for he was responsible for the final systematization of the philosophy. His activity was not only in literary work but also in translations and lectures. When in 680 Divākara (613-687) brought the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* (forty-volume text) to China, Fa-tsang went

to him, made several inquiries about the doctrine and requested him to translate the section on the pilgrimage of the youth Sudhana which was wanting in the hitherto translated sixty-volume text. When Śikṣānanda (652-670) of Khotān brought the eighty-volume text, Fa-tsang assisted him in his translation. He further helped I-ching (635-713), that famous traveler in India, and Devaprajñā (who was in China during 689-691) in the work of translation. In 704 he lectured on the Kegon School for the Usurper Queen Wu-hou. The subject-matter of his lecture then was the 'tenfold profundity' and 'sixfold special nature,' to which we shall return soon. His profound lectures were often accompanied by witty examples. His works in commentaries and dictionaries are of eighteen kinds in more than one hundred Chinese volumes. His last commentary on the eighty-volume text is said to have been left in an unfinished state. His posthumous or honorary titles are Hsien-Shou (Head of the Wise) and Kuo-i (One in the State).

One of Fa-tsang's pupils, Shên-hsiang of Simla, came to Japan in the twelfth year of the Tempyō Era (A.D. 740) and lectured on the school for the first time. Ch'êng-kuan (760-820), another pupil, was honored as the fourth patriarch for his earnest effort in refuting the heresy of Hui-yüan, also a pupil of Fa-tsang, and restoring their teacher's doctrine to its original purity.

Another pupil, Tao-hsüan, came to Japan in 730 and taught the doctrine. Bodhisena from Central India arrived in Nara at the same time or earlier (probably 726) and taught the Avataṅsaka doctrine.

Emperor Shōmu (724-748) intended to govern Japan by the totalistic principle of the Kegon School. He built the Tōdaiji, or the Eastern Great Monastery, and in it he installed the gigantic bronze statue of Mahāvairocana (the Great Sun Buddha). This monastery was to be the Sanctuary for Permanently Preaching the Avataṅsaka Doctrine. Four founders of the monastery are recognized, namely, Shōmu the Emperor, Bodhisena the Brahman prelate, Gyōgi the *Bodhisattva*, and Rōben the abbot.

In spite of these memorable monumental works of the

Nara period, people of the time were soon aware of the fact that the religious institution and the political government should not be confounded. At present the Tōdaiji is the only prominent monastery which belongs to the Kegon School. In the Kamakura period Myōe, a learned priest of Toganoo, Kyoto, endeavoured to establish a new school of the Avataṁsaka, and later in the Tokugawa period Hōtan, a scholar of the Kegon doctrine, made an effort to have a special institute. But neither of them succeeded. However, the study of the Avataṁsaka doctrine is actively pursued in all the centers of Buddhist learning in Japan even today.

The Kegon School

	China Hua-yen School		Japan Kegon School
1.	Tu-shun (557-640)	= =	Tojun
2.	Chih-yen (602-668)	= =	Chigen
3.	Fa-tsang (643-712)	= =	Hōzō
4.	Ch'êng-kuan (c. 760-820)	= =	Chōkwan
	5. Shinshō (Chên-hsiang) (to Japan in 736)		
	6. Rōben (689-772)		

(3) Philosophical

The Totalistic principle of the Kegon School was developed chiefly in China. It is indeed a glory of the learned achievements of Chinese Buddhism. The Kegon School stands, as other schools do, on the basis of the theory of causation by mere ideation, but as held in the Kegon School the theory has a peculiarity. It is designated 'the theory of universal causation of *Dharma-dhātu*' (Realm of Principle or Element of the Elements). The term '*Dharma-dhātu*' is sometimes used as a synonym of the ultimate truth. Therefore, the translation 'the Element of the Elements' is quite fitting. But at other times it means the universe, 'the Realm of All Elements.'

The double meaning, the universe and the universal principle, must always be borne in mind whenever we use the term. Either meaning will serve as the name of the causation theory.

The theory of causation by *Dharma-dhātu* is the climax of all the causation theories ; it is actually the conclusion of the theory of causal origination, as it is the universal causation and is already within the theory of universal immanence, pansophism, cosmotheism, or whatever it may be called. The causation theory, as we have seen before, was explained first by action-influence, but as action originates in ideation, we had, secondly, the theory of causation by ideation-store. Since the ideation-store as the repository of seed-energy must originate from something else, we had, thirdly, the causation theory explained by the expression 'Matrix of the Thus-come' (*Tathāgata-garbha*) or Thusness. This curious term means that which conceals the Buddha. Because of concealment it has an impure side, but because of Buddhahood it has a pure side as well. It is a synonym of Thusness (*Tathātva* or *Tathatā*, not Thisness or Thatness=*tattva*) which has in its broadest sense both pure and impure nature. Through the energy of pure and impure causes it manifests the specific character of becoming as birth and death, or as good and evil. Thusness pervades all beings, or better, all beings are in the state of Thusness. Here, as the fourth stage, the causation theory by *Dharma-dhātu* (universe) is set forth. It is the causation by all beings themselves and is the creation of the universe itself, or we can call it the causation by the common action-influence of all beings. Intensively considered the universe will be a manifestation of Thusness or the Matrix of *Tathāgata* (Thus-come). But extensively considered it is the causation of the universe by the universe itself and nothing more.

Dharma-dhātu—in its double meaning as Realm of Principle and Element of all Elements—is synonymous with Matrix of the Thus-come (*Tathāgata-garbha*) and also with the universe or the actual world, i.e., the realm of all elements. This causation can be taken in the double sense accordingly. The causal origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*) of *Dharma-dhātu*

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attain perfect enlightenment all at once. All words and speech will stop at once. Reason will present itself in its purity and action will always comply with wisdom and knowledge—if thought ceases to arise in his mind, the man is a Buddha. Such an attainment may be gained through silence as shown by Vimalakīrti, a saintly layman of Vaisāli, or through meditation (Zen) as in the case of Bodhidharma, an Indian priest and the founder of the Chinese Zen School. It teaches no special causation theory because it has no method of teaching of its own.

5. The Round Doctrine of the Great Vehicle.

Two grades of the round or perfect doctrine are set forth.

A. One Vehicle (Ekayāna) of the 'Identical Doctrine' in which the One Vehicle is taught in an identical or similar method with the other three Vehicles. The three Vehicles recognized by the Kegon School are different from the ordinary three. They are : 1. the Small (Hīnayāna). 2. the Gradual (a. the elementary ; b. the final Mahāyāna). 3. the Abrupt (e.g., Zen practice of Mahāyāna).

The One Vehicle of the Kegon is inclusive of all Vehicles. For convenience the three Vehicles are taught to prepare the aspirants. The three flow out of the One Vehicle and are taught in the identical method as the one. In the Identical Doctrine the two aspects are distinguished : one within the meditation and the other outside of meditation. The meditation into which the Buddha entered before he preached the Avataṅsaka doctrine was the *Samādhi* of Sea-impression (*Sāgaramudrā*) in which all the doctrines that were to be preached during his lifetime and all beings that were to be converted during fifty years of his career were all at once reflected, just as all images are reflected in a quiet sea. The other doctrines were preached when he was out of that meditation.

The Avataṅsaka doctrine is the representation of the Buddha's Enlightenment as it was conceived and experienced by him. The other discourses were preached to suit the occasion. The Kegon School is thus to be taken as the most fundamental of all.

B. One Vehicle of the 'Distinct Doctrine' in which the

One Vehicle is set forth entirely distinct or independent from the other Vehicles, as in the case of the teaching of the Kegon School in which the doctrine of the world of totalistic harmony mutually relating and penetrating is set forth. The One Vehicle is higher than the other three. The One Vehicle is real while the three are considered as temporary.

Thus analyzing the whole teaching of the Buddha, the Kegon School was founded and systematized. The object of its teaching is the establishment of a harmonious whole of all beings having the perfectly enlightened Buddha at the center. The totalistic principle of the Avataṁsaka is further based on the theory of selflessness (*anātman*), on the causation theory by pure ideation, and on the belief in the existence of Buddha-nature dormant in every being.

Further, ten tenets are enumerated as the subdivisions of the five doctrines. They are :

1. The existence of both *ātman* (self) and *dharma* (element), as admitted by the unusual—almost non-Buddhistic —Vātsiputrīya School.

2. The existence of *dharma* and the non-existence of *ātman*, the reality of the three time-periods (past, present and future), and the reality of all *dharmas*. This tenet is admitted by the Sarvāstivāda School.

3. All *dharmas* devoid of motion hither and thither, the reality of present and unreality of past and future, as admitted by the Mahāsaṅghika School.

4. The present possessed of both unreality and reality. In the reality of the present the five *skandhas* (aggregates)—form, perception, conception, volition and consciousness—are real, but the twelve *ayātanas* (six senses and six sense-organs) and the eighteen *dhātus* (six sense-organs, six sense-objects and six senses) are temporary or unreal, as admitted by the Prajñaptivāda School.

5. The popular truth (*laukika* or *saṃvṛti-satya*) as false but the higher truth (*lokottara* or *paramārtha-satya*) as real as admitted by the Lokottaravāda School.

6. All *dharmas* as nominal or mere names (*ākhyāti mātra* or *nāma mātra*). All elements are simply names and

of no reality, as admitted by the Ekottiya School.

7. All *dharmas* as void, or devoid of specific character (*sarva dharma śūnyatā* or *sarva śūnyatā*), as taught by the *Prajñāpāramitā* text or as admitted by the Sanron (Mādhyamika) School. This is the teaching of the Mahāyāna denying specific character (*lakṣaṇa abhāva*) with the two elementary doctrines.

8. The attribute of Thusness not empty or 'void.' Thusness, though it is without any determinate character, is possessed of innumerable potentialities from which all determinate or differentiated *dharmas* are manifested. This tenet is admitted in the final doctrine of Mahāyāna (the Tendai School) and in the *Awakening of Faith*.

9. The stage in which the distinction between subjective ideation and objective reality is entirely removed, the coalescence of subject and object, the state without specific character and without sense and thought. All the 'Abrupt Doctrines' belong to it, especially the Zen School.

10. The 'round and bright doctrine' in which all attributes exist in a harmonious whole, as in the Round Doctrine of the Kegon School.

A critical division of the interpretation of the Buddha's teaching was proposed first by Ki (K'uei-chi, 632-682), a pupil of Hiuen-tsang (Hsüan-tsang, 596-664). It was a classification into eight doctrines. The present division into ten tenets is a modification of it. Of these ten, one to six are Hīnayāna, but five and six can be said to be semi-Mahāyāna, and seven to ten are the true Mahāyāna doctrines.

The fourfold universe peculiar to the Kegon School roughly corresponds to the five critical divisions of the Buddha's teaching. The universe is fourfold as follows:

1. The world of reality, the factual, practical world. It represents the Realistic Doctrine (Hīnayāna).

2. The world of principle or theoretical world. It is represented by the Sanron and Hossō Schools which teach that principle is separate from facts.

3. The world of principle and reality united, or the ideal world realized. It represents the doctrine of the *Awakening of*

Faith and the Tendai doctrine which teach the identity of fact and principle.

4. The world of all realities or practical facts interwoven or identified in perfect harmony. It is represented by the Kegon School which teaches that all distinct facts or realities will, and ought to, form a harmonious whole by mutual penetration and mutual identification so as to realize the ideal world of One-true.

Generally speaking it should not be difficult to make practice adapted to theory, but such being the evil of men, some make too much of theory while others make too much of practice. So a rational solution becomes necessary. Moreover, in the world of realities (fact) practice often goes against practice, fact against fact, business against business, individual against individual, class against class, nation against nation. Such is the feature of the world of individualism and thus the whole world goes to pieces. Mere collectivism or solidarity will not prevent the evil of life. To harmonize such a state of being and to make all things go smoothly, the world of mutual reliance or interdependence ought to be created. Such an ideal world is called 'the fact and fact world perfectly harmonized.'

To elucidate the possibility of such an ideal world, the 'Ten Profound Theories' are set forth :

1. The theory of co-relation, in which all things have co-existence and simultaneous rise. All are co-existent not only in relation to space but also in relation to time. There is no distinction of past, present and future, each of them being inclusive of the other. Distinct as they are and separated as they seem to be in time, all beings are united to make one entity from the universal point of view.

2. The theory of perfect freedom in which all beings 'broad and narrow' commune with each other without any obstacle. The power of all beings as to intension and extension is equally limitless. One action, however small, includes all actions. One and all are commutable freely and uninterruptedly.

3. The theory of mutual penetration of dissimilar things. All dissimilar existences have something in common. Many

in one, one in many, and all in unity.

4. The theory of freedom--i.e., freedom from ultimate distinctions—in which all elements are mutually identified. It is a universal identification of all beings. Mutual identification is, in fact, self-negation. Identifying oneself with another, one can synthesize with another. Negating oneself and identifying oneself with another constitute synthetical identification. This is a peculiar theory or practice of Mahāyāna. It is applied to any theory or practice. Two opposed theories or incompatible facts are often identified. Often a happy solution of a question is arrived at by the use of this method. As the result of mutual penetration and mutual identification, we have the concept, One in All, All in One, One behind All, All behind One, the great and small, or the high and low, moving harmoniously together. Even the humblest partaking of the work in peace, no one stands separately or idependently alone. It is the world of perfect harmony.

5. The theory of complementarity by which the hidden and the manifested will make the whole by mutual supply. If one is inside, the other will be outside, or vice versa. Both complementing each other will complete one entity.

6. The theory of construction by mutual penetration of minute and abstruse matters. Generally speaking, the more minute or abstruse a thing is, the more difficult it is to be conceived. Things minute or abstruse beyond a man's comprehension must also be realizing the theory of one-in-many and many-in-one as in No. 3.

7. The theory of inter-reflection, as in the region surrounded by the Indra net (a net decorated with a bright stone on each knot of the mesh) where the jewels reflect brilliance upon each other, according to which the real facts of the world are mutually permeating and reflecting.

8. The theory of elucidating the truth by factual illustrations. Truth is manifested in fact and fact is the source of enlightening.

9. The theory of 'variously completing ten time-periods creating one entity.' Each of past, present and future contains three periods, thus making up nine periods which altogether

form one period—nine and one, ten periods in all. The ten periods, all distinct yet mutually penetrating, will complete the one-in-all principle. All other theories are concerned chiefly with the mutual penetration in 'horizontal plane,' but this theory is concerned with the 'vertical connection,' or time, meaning that all beings separated along the nine periods, each complete in itself, are, after all, interconnected in one period—the one period formed by the nine.

10. The theory of completion of virtues by which the chief and the retinue work together harmoniously and brightly. If one is the chief, all others will work as his retinue, i.e., according to the one-in-all and all-in-one principle, they really form one complete whole, permeating one another.

The above are called the 'New Profound Theories.' The 'Old Theories' coming down from Tu-shun to Chih-yen were afterward reformed by Fa-tsang (643-712), and this reformed version, called the New Profound Theories, is now used by the school as the authoritative theories. They are somewhat complicated, but the theories of co-relation (1), mutual penetration (3), mutual identification (4), and the completion of common virtue (10) are to be studied with special care as illustrating the one-in-all and all-in-one principle of this school.

Next we have the 'Sixfold Specific Nature of all *Dharmas*.' They are as follows:

1. Universality; 2. Speciality as to character itself; 3. Similarity; 4. Diversity as to the relation of beings; 5. Integration; 6. Differentiation as to the state of becoming.

For example, the human being. All human beings, in common, are entities.

(1) *Universality*: consisting of five aggregates.

(2) *Speciality*: (But) the organs of different human beings have 'speciality' in the sense of unique character or power.
All have eyes but not all eyes have the same power.

(3) *Similarity*: All organs are similar as organs, or in the sense of co-relation in one organism.

(4) *Diversity*: (But) each organ also possesses

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plished only by the *Lotus*. Therefore, the *Lotus* is the ultimate doctrine among all the Buddha's teachings and is the king of all the *sūtras*. The *Nirvāṇa* text was taught at the same time, but it is a résumé of all that he had expounded before.

The division into five periods shows that the Buddha's teaching is here arranged chronologically. But the Buddha, while teaching, would utilize all five at once when occasions required. Therefore, in order to know the nature of the Buddha's teachings we must arrange them properly. This division into eight doctrines is proposed to meet this purpose. First the four doctrines as to the method of teaching :

1. *Abrupt Doctrine.* In it the Buddha preaches what he had conceived without using any expediency ; this is the time of the *Wreath*.
2. *Gradual Doctrine.* In it the Buddha induces people gradually into deeper thinking, using all sorts of measures ; this is the time of the Deer Park, of Development and of Wisdom.
3. *Mystic Doctrine.* It is in reality a mystical indeterminate doctrine. It is indeterminate and varied because many a listener is concealed from another by the Buddha's supernatural power and each thinks that the Buddha is teaching him alone. Thus, all hear separately and variously. Such indeterminacy exists from the time of the *Wreath* to the time of Wisdom.
4. *Indeterminate Doctrine.* It is a non-mystical indeterminate doctrine. All listeners know that all are hearing together and yet they hear differently and understand variously.

These four methodological doctrines are to cultivate the learners' capacity, and are, therefore, applied only prior to the preaching of the *Lotus*. Such methodology is useless in the *Lotus* because the teaching of the *Lotus* is neither abr pt, nor gradual, nor mystical, nor indeterminate. That is, the time of the *Wreath* will include the abrupt, mystic, and indeterminate doctrines while the times of the Deer Park, Development

and Wisdom include the gradual, mystic and indeterminate.

Next, the four doctrines as to the nature of the teaching itself:

1. *The Doctrine of Piṭakas* (Scripture). Āgamas (traditions or discourses) and all Hīnayāna doctrines, such as those found in the *Vaibhāṣika* literature.
2. *The Doctrine Common to All.* It is common to the three Vehicles and is the elementary doctrine of Mahāyāna. While an inferior *bodhisattva* follows the same practices as the people of the three Vehicles, a superior *bodhisattva* will penetrate into the state of the following two steps or doctrines.
3. *Distinct Doctrine.* It is purely Mahāyāna and is special to *bodhisattvas.* The first and second doctrines teach the simple one-sided Void while this doctrine teaches the Middle Path, and, therefore, is distinct and separate.
4. *Round Doctrine.* 'Round' means perfection, all-pervading, all-fulfilling, all-permeating. The Distinct Doctrine teaches an independent and separate Middle Path and is a simple-separate mean, while the Round Doctrine teaches the Middle Path of perfect permeation and mutual identification. Therefore, it is not a separate, one-sided Middle Path, but the Middle Path as noumenon, perfectly harmonious, theoretically and practically. Thus, 'round' means that one element contains all elements, i.e., the principle of "One is all and all is one."

Now if we examine these five periods of teaching in relation to the four doctrines as to the nature of the teaching, we have the following result:

1. The Time of the *Wreath* is not yet pure 'round' because it includes the Distinct Doctrine.
2. The Time of the Deer Park is only one-sided as it teaches only Hīnayānistic views.

3. The Time of Development teaches all four doctrines together and therefore is still relative.
4. The Time of Wisdom mainly teaches the Round Doctrine and yet is linked with the Common and Distinct Doctrines. Therefore, it is not quite perfect or complete.
5. The Time of the *Lotus* alone is purely 'round' and superlatively excellent, wherein the purpose of the Buddha's advent on earth is fully and completely expressed.

The supplementary *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* summarizes what the Buddha had preached during his whole life, i.e., the three Vehicles and the four doctrines were dismissed by converting the three Vehicles to the One Vehicle and combining the four doctrines with the one ultimate Round Doctrine. Thus, all teachings of the Buddha are absorbed finally into the *Lotus* which is considered by Tendai to be the Supreme Doctrine of all Buddhism.

The school admits the existence of only One Vehicle (Ekayāna) to convey all beings across the ocean of life, though it also admits the temporary existence of the three Vehicles (Triyāna), i.e., *śrāvaka* (hearers, disciples), *pratyeka-buddha* (self-enlightened, enlightened for himself), and *bodhisattva* (would-be Buddha).

For expediency, these three Vehicles are taught, but ultimately they are all brought back to the one true *Buddha-yāna*.

In Nāgārjuna's commentary on the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* there is an annotation of the fundamental principles : All conditioned things are impermanent (*sarva-saṅskāra-anityam*) ; all elements are selfless (*sarva-dharma-anātman*) ; and Nirvāṇa is quiescence (*nirvāṇa-śāntam*), in which it is said that these 'three law-seals' (signs of Buddhism) can be extended to four by adding another, all is suffering (*sarva-duḥkham*), or can be abridged to one 'true state' seal. The 'true state' may be translated as 'noumenon.'[7] This school interprets the 'true state'

[7] This 'true state' or noumenon must not be interpreted as separate from, or above, or beyond phenomena. The word 'noumenon' is only a partially accurate term.

as 'no state' or 'no truth,' but it does not mean that it is false: 'no truth' or 'no state' here means that it is not a truth or a state established by argument or conceived by thought but that it transcends all speech and thought. Again, Tendai interprets it as 'one truth' (*eka-satya*), but 'one' here is not a numerical 'one'; it means 'absolute'. The principle of the Tendai doctrine centers on this true state of all elements.

The true state or noumenon can be realized only through phenomena. In the second chapter of the *Lotus* it is said: "What the Buddha has accomplished is the *dharma* foremost, rare and inconceivable. Only the Buddhas can realize the true state of all *dharmas*; that is to say, all *dharmas* are thus-formed, thus-natured, thus-substantiated, thus-caused, thus-forced, thus-activated, thus-circumstanced, thus-effected, thus-remunerated and thus-beginning-ending-completing."

Through these manifestations of Thusness or phenomena we can see the true state. Nay, these manifestations *are* the true state. There is no noumenon besides phenomenon; phenomenon itself is noumenon.

One should not think, as is ordinarily done, that there exists an abiding motionless substance at the center, around which its qualities exist, moving and changing. If you suppose noumenon to be such an abiding substance, you will be misled altogether. Even the Mahāyānistic people who maintain the doctrine of two truths—the worldly or popular truth and the higher truth—are often mistaken by a dichotomic idea of argument. The Tendai School, therefore, sets forth the threefold truth; i.e., the truth of void, the truth of temporariness and the truth of mean. All things have no reality and, therefore, are void. But they have temporary existence. They are at the same time mean or middle, that is, true state, Thusness.[8]

According to this school the three truths are three in one, one in three. The principle is one but the method of explanation is threefold. Each one of the three has the value of all. Therefore, when our argument is based on the void, we deny the existence of both the temporary and the middle, since we

[8] These names are derived from the verse of the *Mādhyamika* which we quoted above. See Section 2, *Historical*.

consider the void as transcending all. Thus, the three will all be void. The same will be the case when we argue by means of the temporary truth or the middle truth. Therefore, when one is void, all will be void ; when one is temporary, all will be temporary ; when one is middle, all will be middle. They are otherwise called the identical void, identical temporary and identical middle. It is also said to be the perfectly harmonious triple truth or the absolute triple truth.

We should not consider the three truths as separate because the three penetrate one another and are found perfectly harmonized and united together. A thing is void but is also temporarily existent. It is temporary because it is void, and the fact that everything is void and at the same time temporary is the middle truth.

Non-existence and temporary existence may be regarded as contrasts. The middle does not mean that it is between the two. It is over and above the two ; nay, it is identical with the two, because the true state means that the middle is the very state of being void and temporary. The three truths are found ever united and harmonious. In fact, they are mutually inclusive. The Middle Path (*madhyama pratipād*), the True State (*svalakṣaṇa*) and Thusness (*tathatā*) are here synonymous and identical in every way. Here one must bear in mind that though the word 'void' is used, it does not mean 'nothingness' but 'devoid of any thinking or feeling' or 'free from attachment.' Even the idea of void is negated ; it is altogether a negation. Then any existence ought to be temporary because all *dharmas* are 'established' in mind or exist by causal combinations. They exist only in name, not in reality ; that is, they have 'nominal existence.' Any permanent existence should be negated, but temporary existence should be admitted. That all things are void and temporary is the middle truth, i.e., the absolute.

The ultimate truth taught in the Tendai School is Thusness (*Tathatā*), not thisness (*tattva*). Thusness means the true state of things in themselves, the phenomenal world being the state of things manifested before us. The true state of things cannot be seen directly or immediately. We must see

it in the phenomena which are ever changing and becoming. Thus the true state is dynamic. The phenomena themselves *are identical with* the true state of things. The true state of things is Thusness, i.e., things as they are manifested, just as moving waves are not different from the still water. We generally contrast the still water with the moving waves, but moving or staying they are only the manifestation of one and the same water. What is being manifested or shown outwardly is nothing but the thing itself. There is no difference between the two.

This is the theory of the true state of all *dharmas* ; that is, all elements manifested are the elements in their own state (*sarva-dharma-svalakṣaṇa-tā*). Or, to use another expression, the 'worldly state (phenomenal) is permanent' (*lokalakṣaṇa-nityatā*).

According tc the Tendai doctrine any *dharma* expresses itself in all three truths. All existences are thus mutually permeating in all three truths.

The whole universe is said to have the constituency of three thousands,' but the theory is quite different from other pluralistic systems. It is not an enumeration of all *dharmas* ; nor is it the world system of three chiliocosms. What is it then ? We must explain these 'three thousands.' The expression 'three thousands' does not indicate a numerical or substantial immensity, but is intended to show the inter-permeation of all *dharmas* and the ultimate unity of the whole universe.

As the basis of 'three thousands' the school sets forth a world-system of ten realms. That is to say, the world of living beings is divided into ten realms, of which the higher four are saintly and the lower six are ordinary :

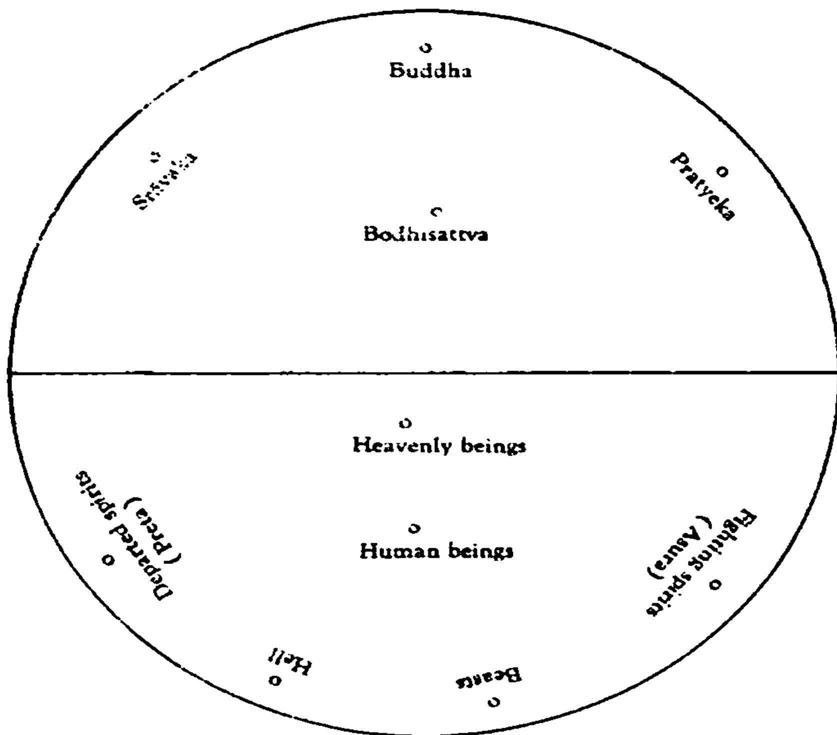
1. The realm of Buddhas. A Buddha is not inside the circle of ten, but as he advents among men to preach his doctrine he is now partially included in it.

2. A *bodhisattva* : a would-be-Buddha.

3. *Pratyeka-buddha* : a Buddha for himself, not teaching others.

4. *Śrāvaka* : a direct disciple of the Buddha.

Ten Realms of Beings



The above four are classed as the saintly stages.

5. *Heavenly Beings* : superhuman as they are, they cannot get perfectly enlightened without the teaching of the Buddha.

6. *Asura* : fighting spirits. Though partially heavenly, they are placed in the lower half of the realm.

7. *Men* : neutral in nature.

8. *Preta* : departed beings, otherwise called 'hungry spirits.'

9. Beasts : innocent in nature, including the whole animal kingdom.

10. Depraved men : 'hellish beings' who are in the lowest stage.

These ten realms are mutually immanent and mutually inclusive, each one having in it the remaining nine realms. For example, the realm of men will include the other nine from Buddha to Hell, and so will any of the ten realms. Even the realm of Buddhas includes the nature of hell and all the rest, because a Buddha, though not hellish himself, intends to save the depraved or hellish beings, and therefore also has hell in his mind. In this sense, the realm of the Buddhas, too, includes the other nine realms.

This immanence of each of the ten worlds in all of them accounts for 100 worlds. Further, each of these realms has ten different features as we have seen above, i.e., form, nature, substance, force, action, cause, circumstance, effect, remuneration and the ultimate state. These are the ten features of Thusness. By discovering these ten features in the 100 worlds, this school arrives at the doctrine of 1,000 realms.

Moreover, each realm consists of three divisions: the species of living beings, the species of space-region or vessel to live in and the species of five aggregates (*skandhas*) taken separately from living beings—form (=matter), perception, conception (idea), volition (will) and consciousness. Thus there are three thousand realms, constituting the whole of manifested reality.

In Buddhism, 'three thousands' usually refers to the great chiliocosm consisting of 1,000 small, 1,000 middle and 1,000 large worlds.[9] With the Tendai School, however, it is not such a world-system, but is the universe of all beings and things, i.e., the whole world of dynamic becoming.

It is not Buddhistic to seek the original principle or to consider the absolute as separate or independent. Here the Tendai School at once comes back to the ideation theory but expresses it somewhat differently. It is set forth that a conscious-instant or a moment of thought has 3,000 worlds immanent in it. This is a theory special to this school and is called 'three thousand originally immanent,' or 'three

[9] For example, in the Realistic (Kusha) School where an extensive world-system is elaborated along these lines:

X. THE SHINGON SCHOOL (THE TRUE WORD SCHOOL)[1]

(Mantra)

(Mysticism)
[Mahayanistic]

(1) Preliminary

Shingon or 'true word' is a translation of the Sanskrit 'mantra which means a 'mystic doctrine' that cannot be expressed in ordinary words. The doctrine which has been expressed in the Buddha's words should be distinguished from the ideal which was conceived in the Buddha's mind but not expressed in words. The Shingon School aims at the Buddha's own ideal not expressed in any way. An organization of Buddhists something like a Mantrayana seems to have existed at Nalanda at the time of I-ching[2] in the 7th century, for he mentions the existence of a bulk of Mantra literature there and he himself is said to have been trained in the esoteric doctrine though he could not master it satisfactorily. The center of learning of mysticism, however, seems to have moved to the Vikramasilas University farther down the Ganges, for Tibetan Buddhism had special connections with the University.

It is a well known fact that in India as early as the Vedic period there existed the Atharva practice of sorcery, which had four kinds of the Homa cult (burnt sacrifice) in an exact coincidence with those of the Buddhist practice. Such a cult might have been the practice of Indian aborigines or at any rate of earlier immigrants. Through a prolonged practice it eventually amalgamated into what we call 'Tantrism,' which is often erroneously confused with the Buddhist Diamond Vehicle Vajrayana.[3] If it is in any way connected with obnoxious practices, it cannot be called Diamond Vehicle, for that is a name given to a higher mystic doctrine, transcending all Hinayana and Mahayana doctrines. Such Diamond Vehicle is only represented by Kōbō Daishi[4] to whom the completion of the Mantra doctrine is due.

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[1] **Chên-yen** 眞言 [2] 義淨 [3] 金剛乘 [4] 弘法大師 **Kūkai, 774-835**

The critical classification of the Buddha's teaching proposed by Kōbō Daishi is in reality the Ten Stages of spiritual development:[5] (1) Various paths of blind life driven by the instinctive impulse (the stage of common people). (2) The Vehicle of human beings striving to have a moral life (the stage of Confucianism). (3) The Vehicle of heavenly beings striving to have a supernatural power (the stage of Taoism and Brahmanism). These three are the worldly Vehicles. (4) The Vehicle of the direct pupils of the Buddha *(Sravaka)*[6] striving for a higher spiritual life as in Hinayana schools, Kusha,[7] and Jōjitsu[8] (stage of direct disciples). (5) The Vehicle of the self-enlightened ones *(Pratyeka-buddha)*[9] enjoying self-enlightenment yet falling into egoism. (6-7) The doctrine of Three Vehicles, holding the three Vehicles as real (the stages of the Sanron[10] and Hossō[11] Schools). (8-9) The doctrine of One Vehicle holding the one Vehicle as real (the stages of the Kegon[12] and Tendai[13] Schools). (10) The Diamond Vehicle as held by the Shingon School. These stages, coming one above the other, show the timely progress of the human mind, while those which stand co-ordinated at one time show the state of the progressive world.

Of these ten, the first is not to be classed as a Vehicle, but since the group of beings is on the way to a Vehicle it is included in the classification of Vehicles. According to the Shingon idea the Diamond Vehicle stands above all others; it is the supreme Vehicle of mysticism.

One must not forget that there exist two forms of the mystic doctrine; namely, the Taimitsu[14] and Tōmitsu.[15] The former is the mysticism handed down by the Tendai School and the latter transmitted in the Tōji Monastery of the Shingon School. They are not altogether different, but in practice the Tōmitsu is a special school for it seems to be much more thorough-going than the Taimitsu, while in theory neither side seems to concede in any way. For example, they agree in their treatment of the Buddhas, Sakyamuni and Mahavairocana, and further in the application of it to the Shinto, 'the Way of Gods,' of Japan. Those who would study the relation of Buddhism with

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[5] 十住心 Not to be confused with the Ten Stages *(dasa-bhumi* 十地) of Mahayana. 異生羝羊心, 愚童持斎心, 嬰童無畏心, 唯蘊無我心, 抜業因種心, 他縁大乗心, 覚心不生心, 一道無為心, 極無自性心, 秘密荘厳心

[6] 声聞 [7] 倶舎 [8] 成実 [9] 縁覚 [10] 三論 [11] 法相 [12] 華厳 [13] 天台 [14] 台密 [15] 東密

Shinto should clear up this point, for the Shinto names of Ryōbu ('Double Aspect')[16] and Ichijitsu ('One True')[17] originate from the difference of ideas in these two mystic schools.

(2) Historical

What we generally call the 'Miscellaneous Mystic'[18] was translated early in the 4th century A.D. Srimitra of Pai (Kucha, a state inhabited by a white race) translated some texts into Chinese. These were charms, cures and other sorts of sorcery, often containing some Mantra prayers and praises of gods or saints of higher grades, but generally speaking they could not be regarded as expressing a high aspiration.

What we can designate as 'Pure Mystics'[19] begins with the three able Indian teachers who arrived in China during the August T'ang period (713-765). The first arrival was Subhakarasinha[20] (637-735) who had been king of Orissa. He joined the priesthood and went to the Nalanda University over which Dharmagupta presided. Well versed in Buddhist concentration *(yoga)*, mystical verses *(dharani)* and fingers inter-twining *(mudra)*, he started for Kasmir and Tibet, and at last came to Ch'angan in 716, where he was well received by the Emperor Hsüan-tsung[21] (685-762).

Wu-hsing,[22] a learned Chinese, who traveled in India, met I-ching[23] at Nalanda and collected all sorts of Sanskrit texts. He died on his way home, but his collection reached Hua-yen Monastery in Ch'angan. On hearing this Subhakarasinha together with I-ching selected some of the important texts and in 725 translated the 'Great Sun' text *(Mahavairocana)*[24] and others. He wanted to return to India, but was not allowed to depart and died in 735

The second arrival was Vajrabodhi[25] (663-723) who, coming from South India, became a novice at Nalanda. At the age of fifteen, he went to West India and studied logic for four years under Dharmakirti, but came again to Nalanda where he received full ordination at twenty. For six years he devoted himself to the study of the *Vinaya* (Discipline) text and the Middle (Madhyamika) Doctrine under Santabodhi; for three years he studied the *Yogacara* by Asan-

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16 兩部 17 一實

18 'Miscellaneous Mystics' texts are Nanjio Nos. 167, 309, 310. 雜蜜

19 純密 20 善無畏 21 玄宗 22 無行 23 義淨

24 *Taishō,* Nos. 848 大日經 25 金剛智

ga, the *Vijnaptimatra* by Vasubandhu and the *Madhyanta-vibhanga* by Sthiramati under Jinabhadra, at Kapilavastu, North India; and for seven years he studied the *Vajra-sekhara* (Diamond Head) and other mystical texts under Nagabodhi, in South India. At last, he sailed to the southern sea and reached Loyang, China, in 720. He translated several important mystical texts, such as the *Vajra-sekhara*.[26] In 741, while in Ch'angan, he obtained permission to return to India, but on his way died in Loyang.

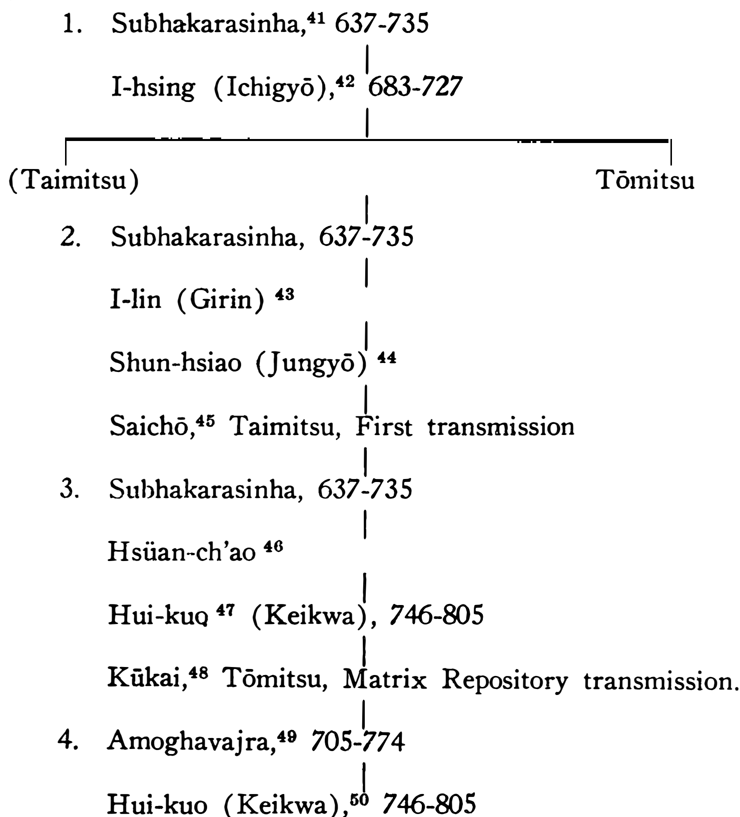
Amoghavajra[27] (705-774), an able pupil of Vajrabodhi, was from North India. He became a novice at the age of fifteen and arrived in Kuangtung together with his teacher whom he followed as far as Loyang, and received ordination at twenty. In twelve years he mastered all the mystical doctrines and practices. When his teacher died he went to Ceylon together with his fellow pupils, thirty-seven in all, and visited a teacher, Samantabhadra,[28] from whom he learned the doctrines of the *Vajra-sekhara-yoga* and *Maha-vairocana-garbhakosa*. With his rich collections he returned to Ch'angan in 746.

Amoghavajra was an instructor of Hsüan-tsung, Su-tsung[29] and Tai-tsung,[30] the three successive Emperors. He translated 110 different texts, in 143 Chinese volumes *(chüans)*. Among them was the most important text *Rita-sangraha* or *Tattva-sangraha (i.e., Vajra-sekhara)*,[31] 'Diamond Head' which, it is interesting to note, was incidentally discovered at the same time by Professor Tucci of Italy and Professor Ono of Japan. The former found in Tibet the Sanskrit text and the latter discovered in Japan the pictorial annotation of the text, which was brought back from China by Enchin (Chishō Daishi)[32] in 853. The happy coincidence of discovery of the two distinguished professors will contribute much to the history of the mystical school of India, Tibet, China and Japan.

Ichigyō (I-hsing,[33] 683-727), a pupil of Subhakarasinha, who was well versed in the Sanron, the Zen, the Tendai, and the calendar, assisted Subharakarasinha in his translation of the 'Great Sun' text. On hearing the lecture from his teacher, Ichigyō compiled a commentary on the 'Sun' text called *Ta-jih Ching Su*.[34] Since he was a savant of the Tendai doctrine, his commentary is said to contain

[26] *Taishō*, No. 932
[27] 不空 [28] 普賢 [29] 肅宗 [30] 代宗 [31] *Taishō*, No. 865. 金剛頂經
[32] 圓珍, 智證大師 [33] 一行 [34] 大日經疏

some of the Tendai tenets. The commentary, as it was left in an unrevised manuscript, was afterward revised by Chih-yen,[35] a pupil of Subhakarasinha, and Wên-ku,[36] a pupil of Vajrabodhi, and was called by a new name *Ta-jih Ching I-shih*.[37] The Tōmitsu follows the former revision while the Taimitsu adopts the latter. Ichigyō studied under the two Indian teachers, Subhakara and Vajrabodhi, and received the cults of both the Realm of 'Matrix Repository,' *(Vajra-dhatu)*[38] and the Realm of Diamond Elements *(Garbha-kosa*[39] or *Garbha-kuksi)*, but he is said to have held the latter as the more important of the two.[40] To show the line of transmission we will give here a table of succession:



[35] 智儼 [36] 温古 [37] 大日經義釋 [38] 金剛界 [39] 胎藏界
[40] For explanation of the two Realms, see below.
[41] 善無畏 [42] 一行 [43] 義林 [44] 順曉 [45] 最澄, 傳教大師 [46] 玄超
[47] 惠果 [48] 空海, 弘法大師 [49] 不空 [50] 惠果

Kūkai, Tōmitsu, Diamond Element transmission.

1. Amoghavajra, 705-774 I-ts'ao (Gisō)[51] Gishin[52]

6. Amoghavajra, 705-774 Hui-tsê (Esoku)[53] Genshō[54]

Ennin (Jikaku Daishi)[55], Taimitsu, Second transmission.

During the Hui-ch'ang[56] period (845) in China when there was destruction of Buddhism, Ennin (Jikaku Daishi) of the Tendai School was in China. He encountered troubles in this period but because of the disorder was able to collect valuable materials of mystic Buddhism.

Fortunately the mystical doctrine and practices were brought home by the four Daishis (Great Masters) and others, and were once and for all organized and systematized by the able hand of Kōbō Daishi[57] (Kūkai). The Kōyasan,[58] the center of learning of mystic doctrine, is said to have had 990 monasteries during its flourishing period.

Kōbō Daishi, the founder of the Shingon School in Japan, was the first and foremost artist in sculpture and in calligraphy. His literary style was admired in China as well as in Japan. He founded a private school of arts as an educational center of common people in Kyoto. Although it was dropped soon after his demise, his influence in primary education remained forever in Japan. It is but reasonable that the verse *Iroha* (alphabet) attributed to him was popularized and perpetuated in Japan.

At present the Shingon School has two branches, old and new; the monasteries under it number 10,000 in all.

(3) Philosophical

The Shingon School claims to be the only esoteric doctrine whereas all other schools are considered exoteric. The distinction of the two doctrines is found in the treatment of the spiritual body *(Dharmakaya)* of the Buddha. The spiritual body is the body of principle and therefore is colorless, formless and speechless, according to the exoteric doctrine; whereas according to the esoteric doctrine of the

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51 義操　52 義眞　53 慧則　54 元政　55 圓仁，慈覺大師　56 會昌
57 空海，弘法大師　58 高野山

mystic school the preaching Buddha himself is of spiritual body and is with form, color and speech. His speech is found in the *Great Sun* text and the *Diamond Head (Vajra-sekhara)*. Again, the exoteric schools recognize that the state of cause of Buddhahood is explicable in parts, but the state of effect of it can in no way be explained. This state of the inexplicable Buddhahood has been explained in the above mystic texts. As to the time occupied before the attainment of Buddhahood the exoteric schools hold it to be three long periods *(kalpas)*, while the esoteric school regards it as merely one thought-moment or at any rate the one life, and asserts that this body of ours becomes Buddha. In the one school the Tripitaka literature is depended upon, but in the other schools the rituals *(kalpa* or *vidhi)* [59] are regarded as authoritative.

A mystic hymn *(mantra)* is the source of obtaining the enfolding power of Buddha. If we speak of the preaching of the spiritual body and the explicability of the state of effect, we can speak so because we presume that all speeches are the real speeches issuing from the Buddha's own will, or we should say, a voiceless speech for his own enjoyment of the taste of *Dharma*.

According to the exoteric schools the Buddha's preachings are all for others' enjoyment, and the spiritual body itself is unknowable and the state of Buddhahood is altogether inexplicable. Thus no preaching of the spiritual body will be recognized. The Shingon School, on the other hand, asserts that the Buddha had no 'secret fist,' which he demonstrated by his own hand, and was preaching the truth perpetually, but the listeners had no ear to hear and no mind to understand.

The three mysteries [60] of the body, speech and thought of the Buddha will remain mysteries forever if there is no means of communion. Such a means of communion should come from the mystic power *(adhisthana,* enfolding power) of the Buddha but not from the limited effort of an aspirant. The means itself is nothing but the manifestation of the mystic power, which can be expressed through the three activities [61] of men, i.e., our body, speech and thought. According to the ritualistic prescription *(vidhi* or *kalpa)*,[62] the means of communion has three aspects: 'finger-intertwining' [63] *(mudra)* and other attitudes of one's body, 'mystical verse' [64] *(dharani)* and other

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[59] 儀軌 [60] 三密 [61] 三業 [62] 儀軌 [63] 手結印契 [64] 口誦眞言

words of prayer, and *yoga* concentration,[65] corresponding to our three activities. So through the prescribed ritual we can realize the perfect communion between the Buddha and the aspirant, thus attaining the result of the 'Buddha-in-me, I-in-Buddha';[66] hence, the theory of the Buddhahood attainable in this corporeal life.

The Mahavairocana, as the Great Sun Buddha is called in Sanskrit, is apparently different from the Buddha Sakyamuni, but if mystically considered, the latter himself will be the former, and the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra who is attending Sakyamuni will be Vajrapani under the mystical Buddha. Even the mystical Buddha is of two aspects, generally represented as two separate Buddhas.

In Buddhism, a Buddha, however remote in age or however great in origin, will be individual, for the perfection of knowledge and wisdom is the perfection of personality and that is a Buddha. A personal perfection embellished by the three mysteries is the spiritual body of knowledge and wisdom.[67] The static nature of the Buddha is potentially perfected like the great luminary (Diamond Element), and is the Mahavairocana (Great Sun) of the Diamond Element. To us it is not yet clear that the all-illumining dynamic force, like warmth or mercy, is to enfold all beings which are in the realm of natural principle (Matrix Repository). Therefore, the spiritual body of principle [68] is depicted as if the world of nature, i.e., universe itself, should become illumined and assume a splendor of perfect wisdom. This Buddha is possessed of the perfect harmony of the sixfold greatness; i.e., earth, water, fire, air, space and consciousness [69] and is the Buddha Mahavairocana of the Matrix Repository. These curious names of the worlds of 'Diamond Element' and 'Matrix Repository' indicate the indestructible character of personal wisdom, otherwise called the realm of effect and the natural source of beings (sometimes called the realm of cause).

These two aspects of the Buddha are strictly distinguished. I used the word 'static' or 'dynamic' with regard to the person of the Buddha on the basis of the manifestation of his enfolding power. Seen from the attainment of his perfect wisdom, the Buddha of the realm of nature is static and therefore has the sign *(mudra)* of 'meditation,' while the Buddha of the realm of wisdom is dynamic owing to the vivid realization of his ideals and has the sign of 'wisdom-fist.'

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[65] 心入本尊三摩地 [66] 入我我入 [67] 智法身三密莊嚴 [68] 理法身
[69] 六大無礙

Suppose an individual develops himself and attains enlightenment and advances so far as to conform to the universal principle; he will then be the Buddha Mahavairocana of the individual realm (Diamond Element). In sculpture he is represented with the left hand grasping the index finger of the right hand, the sign of 'wisdom-fist.'

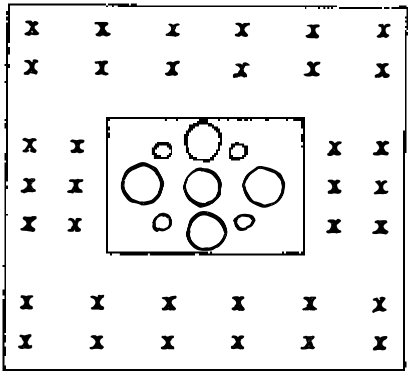
On the other hand, when the universe itself becomes illumined and assumes a splendor of wisdom, he then will be the Buddha Mahavairocana of the natural realm (Matrix Repository). In sculpture he is represented as having the sign of meditation on the universe, with the right hand on the left, the thumbs touching each other.

Thus there are two Buddhas with one and the same name, different in manifestation but identical in quality. "They are two and yet not two."[70] When the six great elements (earth, water, fire, air, space and consciousness) are coordinated crosswise (according to space) we get the universe, i.e., the universal body of the Buddha of the Matrix Realm. When the six elements are arranged lengthwise or vertically (according to time), we get the individual of five aggregates, i.e., the personal body of the Buddha of the Diamond Realm. Mystically speaking, the two persons of ultimate perfection would be of one and the same width and height.

To illustrate the sphere of activity of the two Buddhas a diagram-like circle *(Mandala)* was invented for each, having the whole show of saintly beings with the Buddha at the center.

The Realm of Diamond Element [71]

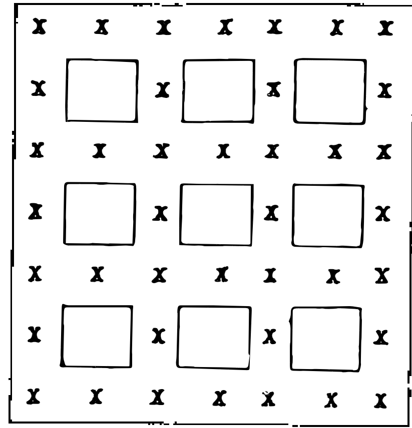
This has the central party of nine representing the Diamond Realm. Figures represented here amount to 414.



414.

[70] 二而不二 [71] 金剛界九會

The Realm of Matrix Repository[72]



1,461

Each of the four quarters has a Buddha, and each of the four corners has a Bodhisattva, thus making up the party of nine with the central one. Saintly beings represented are 1,461 in all.

The circle is of four kinds:[73]

1. The Great Circle *(Maha-mandala)*[74] is the circle of the Buddha and his companions represented by pictures or painted figures, i.e., a plane representation.

2. The Symbol Circle *(Samaya-mandala)*[75] is the circle of the same assembly represented by symbols or an article possessed by each. *Samaya* in Sanskrit means the 'original vow' but here it is represented by an article borne by each.

3. The Law Circle *(Dharma-mandala)*[76] is the circle of letters *(bija-aksara)* representing all the saintly beings.

4. The Artcraft Circle *(Karma-mandala)*[77] is the circle of sculptured figures.

In Japan we have no circle of sculptural representation. The multitude of Buddhistic images of Java is said to be of this kind. *Karma* in Sanskrit means 'action' or 'work'; here it especially means the artistic work of solid representation.

The fourfold circle indicates the efficacious power of the three mysteries. The figures, painted or sculptured, show the mystery of the body of the Buddha; the letters show the mystery of speech of the Buddha; and the symbol indicates the 'original vow,' the thought of the Buddha.

The Shingon School has the ritual of anointment *(abhiseka)* as well as the ordination ceremony. The area of anointment must be

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[72] 胎藏界十三大院　[73] 四曼　[74] 大曼荼羅　[75] 三昧耶曼荼羅
[76] 法曼荼羅　[77] 羯磨曼荼羅

decked with the Circles of the two realms; all ritual requirements must be fulfilled. Sometimes the Circles are spread out and thereby the ritual area is formed. So the area is called Circle.' Only the adequate performance of the ritual can make the evoking of any enfolding power of Buddha effective.

According to tradition, Subhakarasinha and his pupil, I-hsing, transmitted the Matrix doctrine, while Vajrabodhi and his pupil, Amoghavajra, taught the Diamond doctrine. Thus we must presume that there were two traditions of transmission, both being only partial or one-sided.

However, the recent discovery of the *Tattva-sangraha* in Tibet by Professor Tucci and the *Vajra-sekhara (Rita-sangraha)* in Japan by Professor Ono make the old traditions entirely untenable, because the *Vajra-sekhara* represented in the *Five Assemblies*[78] was kept in secret in the Mii Monastery in Ōmi and Shōrenin in Kyoto. The 'Five Assemblies' are *Buddha, Padma, Ratna, Vajra,* and *Karma.* These being originally the divisions of the Diamond Realm, it is clear that we had from the beginning the text of the 'Diamond' doctrine brought by Subhakarasinha. They were actually the transmission by Subhakarasinha. From this it will be seen that at the time of Subhakarasinha both the 'Diamond' and 'Matrix' doctrines were existing in China. Tucci's text is Sanskrit and Ono's is a pictorial explanation without which often a perusal of the Sanskrit original becomes impossible. Students of mysticism may expect a real contribution from the study of these texts.

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[78] 五部心觀

XI. THE ZEN SCHOOL
(THE MEDITATION SCHOOL)[1]
(Dhyāna)

(Pure Intuitionism)
[Mahāyānistic]

(1) BUDDHIST SCHOOLS OF THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1185-1335 A.D.)

Buddhism in the Nara period (710-794 A.D.) was a philosophy of investigation and speculation, while that of the Heian period (794-1185 A.D.) was externally an eclecticism or syncretism of Shintoistic and Buddhistic ideas and internally a unification of the theory of universal immanence (exoteric). Buddhism in this later period greatly influenced the social life and culture on all sides by its doctrine of enfolding power (esoteric). In the Kamakura period (1185-1335 A.D.) the specific character of Buddhism was pre-eminently practical, national and markedly enthusiastic in preaching, exclusive in doctrine, more simplified and specific than ever, but extensive in the application or the realization of the ideal, since all Buddhist schools in the period preached salvation—i.e., the way of enlightenment—for all, that is, pansophism.

The religious activity of this period was, in a way, a strong protest against the previous orthodox schools which seemed to end in an exhibition of either speculative achievement or ritualistic efficacy, betraying in their aristocratic pomp and ceremonial display the fast degenerating tendency of philosophical-religious life in general. The importance of a reversion to the monistic and practical religion of Prince Shōtoku[2] was strongly felt. The consensus of the leading ideas and the necessity of spiritual reform among the populace

[1] Ch'an. [2] 574-622 A.D.

brought about the uniformity of the religious type of the time. Certainly the memory of Prince Shōtoku was greatly awakened and a considerable increase in his images, sanctuaries, memorial services and even guilds of artisans connected with him was conspicuous during the period. One of the Buddhist schools founded at the time enshrined him as the patriarch of Japan.

Kamakura Buddhism, the Buddhism of 'All-Enlightenment,' may be summarized into seven schools :

1. The Zen School of meditative intuitionism
   a. Rinzai Sect founded by Eisai (1141-1215)
   b. Sōtō Sect founded by Dōgen (1200-1253)
2. The Fuke School of introspective asceticism, founded by Kakushin in 1255
3. The Jōdo School of Amita-pietism, founded by Hōnen (1133-1212)
4. The Shin School of Amita-pietism, founded by Shinran (1173-1262)
5. The Ji School of Amita-pietism, founded by Ippen (1239-1289)
6. The Nichiren School of Lotus-pietism, founded by Nichiren (1222-1282)
7. The Shin-Ritsu Sect, the reformed school of self-vow discipline, founded by Eison (1201-1290), the restorer of the disciplinary school

(2) PRELIMINARY

As an inheritance from the ancient Aryan race, India has had the habit of meditation practiced in all schools of philosophy as well as in religion. There are six systems of Indian philosophy (*darśana*, 'view'), one of which, called Yoga, is especially devoted to meditation or concentration.

The Yoga system is the practical side of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, which is dualistic. In Sāṅkhya, Self (*Ātman*) and Nature (*Prakṛti*), one blind as it were, and the other lame, cannot function without being united. Self has the intellec-

tual function, but cannot move without the physical function of Nature. When the two combine together, they see the way and move at will. Self, like the promoter of a theatrical play, simply looks on his mate's acting and moving but curiously thinks that he himself is acting in the moving, though in reality only Nature is moving and achieving. Only self-culture brings about freedom, that is, independence of Self. The method of self-culture is practically the Yoga system of Patañjali (second century B.C.). The Sāṅkhya system, originally heterodox since it was atheistic, asserted only the existence of the individual *Ātman* (Self) and not of *Mahātman* (Universal Self, *Brahman*). But in the practice of abstract meditation an object of self-concentration was necessary and so the doctrine assumes the form of deism (but not theism). At the end of meditation, when the absolute separation of Self from Nature has been effected, the object of meditation, *Brahman*, *Parama-ātman* or God, whatever it is, is no longer used.

The constituents of Yoga abstraction (concentration) are generally eight: 1. restraint (*yama*); 2. minor restraint (*niyama*); 3. sitting (*āsana*); 4. restraint of breaths (*prāṇāyāma*); 5. withdrawal of senses (*pratyāhāra*); 6. retention of mind (*dhāraṇā*); 7. concentration of mind (*dhyāna*); 8. concentration of thought (*samādhi*). These practices of the Yogin are actually similar to those of the Yogācāra School of Buddhism.[3] Yogācāra means 'practice of self-concentration' and has several things in common with the Yoga philosophy. The Yogācāra School is Buddhist idealism taught by Asaṅga,[4] systematized by his brother Vasubandhu [5] as the Theory of Mere Ideation (Vijñaptimātratā), and introduced to China by Hiuen-tsang[6] as the Fa-hsiang (Hossō) School. According to I-tsing,[7] famous traveler in India, it was one of the only two Mahāyāna schools in India (Mādhyamika and Yogācāra).[8]

[3] See Ch. VI. [4] c. 410-500 A.D. [5] c. 420-500 A.D.

[6] Hsüan-tsang, 596-664. [7] I-ching, 635-713.

[8] See my translation, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing* (A.D. 671-695), Oxford, 1896, p. 15.

This fact is fully confirmed by Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra*, in which these two are treated as the only existing Buddhist systems.

The meditation (*dhyāna*) practiced in the Zen School consisted of twelve ways of meditation, three grades and four kinds in each; namely, four form-realm-meditations (*rūpa-dhātu*), four formless-realm-meditations (*ārūpya-dhātu*) and four measureless-meditations (*apramāṇa-dhyāna*). The last, the measureless-meditations, are exactly identical with those of the Yoga system. Which one is indebted to the other we cannot say, though they look quite Buddhistic. They are: 1. benevolence (*maitrī*, to give joy to others); 2. cheerfulness (*muditā*, to keep oneself happy); 3. mercy (*karuṇā*, to remove the suffering of others); 4. indifference (*upekṣā*, to transcend the above three). These, though subjective, have all beings as their objective, whereas the four form-realm-meditations and four formless-realm-meditations have the form-heaven and the formless-heaven as their objectives. It is a well-known fact that in the Buddha's career he practiced the formless *dhyāna* with Ārāḍa Kālāma, an ascetic who attained the mental state of boundless consciousness, and Udraka Rāmaputra, another ascetic who reached the highest stage of being neither conscious nor unconscious. Finally, the would-be Buddha surpassed his teachers and, having found no more to learn from them, went his own way in spite of their eager requests to stay and train their respective pupils.

The importance of the abstract meditation of the Yoga system is laid upon the evolution and reversion of the dual principles and upon the final liberation of Self from Nature, while that of the idealistic Yogācāra School of Buddhism is centered on the unification of the world within and without, on the synthesizing of our causal and illusory existences, and thus negatively discovering the state of Thusness (*Tathatā*).

Buddhism has, of course, a special doctrine of meditation. Although the depth and width of contemplation depend upon one's personal character, the methods or contents of meditation taught by the Buddha are similar in Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. This special meditation is generally called 'Tathāgata medita-

tion,' as it forms one part of the sacred teaching. The highest development of it is seen in the perfect 'calmness and insight' (*samathavipaśyana*) of the Tendai School and in the mystical *yogācāra* of the Shingon School.

(3) Historical

To understand Tathāgata meditation, one must study the history of the meditative teaching of the Buddha. When we speak of the Tathāgata meditation, we presuppose the rise of patriarchal meditation by the advent of Bodhidharma in China in 520 A.D.

Tathāgata Meditation

The Buddha first taught the Threefold Basis of Learning (*trisikṣa*): Higher Discipline (*adhi-śīla*), Higher Meditation (*adhi-citta*) and Higher Wisdom (*adhi-prajñā*). In the sixfold perfection of wisdom, concentration (*samādhi*) is one of the most important factors. He further taught meditation as the 'basis of action' (*karma-sthāna*), such as meditation on the ten universal objects, on impurity, on impermanence, on breaths, etc. The object of meditation with the Buddha seems to have been to attain first, tranquillity of mind, and then activity of insight. This idea is common to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. To intensify the original idea and to apply it extensively, each school seems to have introduced detailed items of contemplation.

Generally speaking, the mental cultivation of Buddhism is divided into three: 1. 'effort' stage; 2. 'view-path' stage; 3. 'practice-path' stage. The adjustment of one's self so as to proceed to the path, that is, the beginner's undertaking, comes first. The first path one treads is the 'effort' stage in which there is the practice of calmness and insight. One must practice:

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is hereby entrusted to you, Oh Mahākaśyapa! Accept and hand it down to posterity." Once when Ānanda asked him what the Buddha's transmission was, Mahākaśyapa said: "Go and take the banner-stick down!"[9] Ānanda understood him at once. Thus the mind-sign was handed down successively. The teaching was called the 'school of the Buddha-mind.'

The 28th patriarch was Bodhidharma.[10] He was the third son of the King of Kañcīpura, South India. Obeying the instruction of Prajñātara, his teacher, Bodhidharma started for the East and arrived in China in 520 A.D. The Emperor Wu-ti invited him to Nanking for an audience. The Emperor said: "Since my enthronement, I have built many monasteries, copied many holy writings and invested many priests and nuns. How great is the merit due to me?" "No merit at all," was the answer. "What is the Noble Truth in its highest sense?" "It is empty, no nobility whatever." "Who is it then that is facing me?" "I do not know, Sire." The Emperor could not understand him. Bodhidharma went away, crossed the Yangtze River and reached the capital, Loyang, of Northern Wei. After a sojourn there he went to Mount Wu-t'ai and resided in the Shao-lin Temple where he remained and for nine years, facing a cliff behind the edifice, meditated in silence.

A strong-minded Confucian scholar, Hui-k'o,[11] came to Bodhidharma and asked for instruction. He obtained no reply. Thereupon he stood in the snow and cut off his left arm, thereby showing his sincerity and eagerness. Bodhidharma then made him a pupil and gave him a robe and a bowl as a sign of transmission. This is the line of the patriarchal meditation. The fifth patriarch, Hung-jên,[12] had two able pupils. The regular succession fell on one of them, Hui-nêng,[13] who became the founder of the Southern Meditation School. His aim was an abrupt attainment of enlightenment and his school is called the Southern School of Abrupt Enlightenment.

[9] The presence of the banner outside the temple was indicative of preaching of the Law. To take the banner down means to do away with word-preaching.

[10] c. 470-534. [11] Eka. [12] Gunin. [13] Enō, 638-713.

He is the sixth patriarch of Zen. The other able pupil was Shên-hsiu [14] who remained in the north and propagated the Zen of patriarchal meditation earnestly. His school was called the Northern School of Zen. His teaching was a gradual attainment of enlightenment and named the Northern School of Gradual Enlightenment. Since the Northern School taught the Tathāgata meditation as well, Dengyō Daishi is said to have belonged to it. All of the Japanese sects belong to the Southern School.

Japanese Zen

Zen was introduced to Japan several times. Hiuen-tsang's pupil, Dōshō,[15] who went to China in 654 A.D., introduced and taught it for the first time in the Zen Hall of Gangōji, Nara. Next, Tao-hsüan,[16] a Chinese *vinaya* (discipline) master, came to Nara in 710 A.D. and taught the Zen of the Northern School. He transmitted it to Gyōhyō in 733 A.D., who in turn taught it to Saichō (Dengyō Daishi).

A special Zen instructor of the Southern School, Gikū, a pupil of Ch'i-an,[17] came to Kyoto and taught Zen from 851 to 858 A.D. in the Danrinji Temple built by the Empress Danrin. He was successful in his teaching. In all the above cases the propagation was assisted by the Court but did not continue long. The last-mentioned teacher went home disappointed in 858 A.D., leaving a monument at the Rashōmon, Kyoto, inscribed : "A record of the propagation of Zen in Japan."

The watchword of Zen in China was "not to pay respect even to king or prince." Such an attitude did not appeal to the nationalistic mind of Japan. In the Kamakura period several Chinese teachers were invited or welcomed by the Shogunate government. Tao-lung Lan-hsi (Dōryū Rankei, founder of the Kenchōji Temple in 1249), Tsu-yüan W'u-hsüeh (Sogen Mugaku, founder of the Engakuji Temple in 1273) and I-ning I-shan (Ichinei Issan, who though not invited, came to the Shuzenji Temple in 1299) came to Kamakura and busied themselves in the instruction of Zen. We must remem-

[14] Jinshū, 605-706. [15] 629-700. [16] Dōsen. [17] Enkwan Saian.

ber, however, that it was only after the able founders of Japanese Zen, Eisai and Dōgen, had opened and brilliantly led the way, that these Chinese teachers made their appearance on the scene. Eisai, who built the Kenninji Temple in Kyoto, wrote a treatise, "Kōzen Gokoku-ron" (Propagation of Zen as the Protection of the Nation), in which he asserted that the propagation of the Zen practice would serve to protect the prosperity of the Empire. He was right in his view, as the new religion greatly helped to pacify and strengthen the hearts of the warriors. Zen taught that even fighters must introspect and think of morality and responsibility. Dōgen wanted to rectify the abnormal system of government and went so far as to advise Tokiyori, then the *de facto* ruler, to restore the regime to the Throne. As the proposal was not complied with, he left at once and retired to the Eiheiji Monastery which he bulit in the province of Echizen. This deepened the ruler's respect for him and one of Dōgen's pupils in Kamakura was persuaded to take the document of a generous grant of land to his teacher. The priest gladly did so. Upon receiving it, Dōgen was so enraged that he at once drove his pupil away. He ordered the chair the priest sat on destroyed, the ground under the chair dug three feet deep and the earth thrown away. After this incident he was admired more than ever, and the Zen practice became popular among the people.

The second Zen school, Fuke, was founded by Kakushin who, like Dōgen and Eisai, went to China in 1249 and received the Zen training under Fu-yen (Butsugen), a great teacher of the school. On his return home in 1255 he founded the school of homeless mendicancy, commonly called 'community of nothingness,' in which the members were said to be 'lying on dew and feeding on air.' The school eventually became a community of *rōnin* ('lordless warriors') and as such helped the government and the people in various respects. This was abolished after the Great Restoration in 1868.

In the Zen School we have at present three principal sects : 1. Rinzai Sect, first introduced from China by Eisai in 1191 and then by Benen in 1235 ; 2. Sōtō Sect, introduced by Dōgen in 1127 ; 3. Ōbaku Sect, introduced by Ingen in 1654. This

last sect, though of late introduction, has 640 monasteries.

(4) Philosophical and Religious

Zen has much philosophy but is not a philosophy in the strict sense of the term. It is the most religious school of all and yet not a religion in the ordinary sense of the word. It has no scripture of the Buddha, nor does it hold any discipline set forth by the Buddha.

Without a *sūtra* (discourse) or a *vinaya* (discipline) text no school or sect would seem to be Buddhistic. However, according to the ideas of Zen, those who cling to words, letters or rules can never fully comprehend the speaker's true idea. The ideal or truth conceived by the Buddha should be different from those taught by him because the teaching was necessarily conditioned by the language he used, by the hearers whom he was addressing, and by the environment in which the speaker and hearers were placed. What Zen aims at is the Buddha's ideal, pure and unconditioned. The school is otherwise called 'the School of the Buddha's Mind.' The Buddha's mind is after all a human mind. An introspection of the human mind alone can bring an aspirant to a perfect enlightenment. But how?

The general purport of Buddhism is to let one see rightly and walk rightly. The way of viewing (*darśana-mārga*) is different from the way of walking (*bhāvanā-mārga*). People walk often without seeing the way. Religions generally lay importance on practice, that is, how to walk, but neglect teaching the intellectual activity with which to determine the right way, that is, how to see. To judge whether the path we are going to take is right or not, first of all, science is important, but, as we go on, we discover that philosophy is much more important than anything else. In case science and philosophy do not give a satisfactory result, we must resort to the meditative method of Zen in order to get insight into any given problem.

First, find out your way and begin to walk on it. The foot acquired by meditation can carry you across the wave-

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Entries in the index conform, of course, to the style of the text. It is to be noted that Professor Takakusu has employed variations in transliteration of the Sanskrit in order to agree with general usage; for example, such equivalents as *r* and *ri*, *n* and *m*, and *sh* and *s* are both used. The editors have not considered it imperative to make changes for the sake of consistency. Capitalization also conforms to the usage in the text. To avoid unnecessary repetition and complexity, not all entries are indexed in both Sanskrit and English. For the convenience of those who are not familiar with the Sanskrit terms, however, many basic items are given double entry. [Editors' note.]

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